

IN THESE TIMES

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DIALOG

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Jesse Helms' (above) campaign is being publicized by his 23-year-old black aide—a recent Republican convert—Claude Allen.

Aide says Helms no 'prince of darkness'

By Alex Charns

RALEIGH, N.C.

The race between Sen. Jesse Helms and his Democratic challenger North Carolina Gov. James Hunt has been called the second most important race of 1984—a \$21 million "alley fight" for the "soul of the South." It is a battle between the old racist South and the new Sunbelt South, according to the governor's supporters.

"[Sen. Jesse Helms] must be beaten, because if he isn't he may be the Joe McCarthy of our decade with his laundry lists of alleged Communists, homosexuals, non-Christians, union members...and the like," wrote the progressive *North Carolina Independent* in endorsing Gov. Hunt this week.

But conservatives like Claude Allen believe that the "prince of darkness" portraits drawn by Helms adversaries are unfair and typical of the liberal press' campaign of disinformation against their candidate for senator. And Allen should know. He is Sen. Helms' press spokesperson. The 23-year-old Allen has almost single-handedly taken up the press battle for the king pin of the radical right. And Allen is black—the first black ever to work in a Senate or campaign staff position for Jesse Helms in his 12 years in office.

Understandably, Allen has caused a stir in the Tar Heel state by being the most visible member of the Senator's team. Helms is the man who 10 years ago was called "the most notable antagonist of Negro rights [in North Carolina] over the last decade" by one of the state's largest papers. Last year Helms voted against the Rev. Martin Luther King holiday, and his opposition to civil rights legislation in the Senate is legendary. The Senator's support among blacks is abysmally low.

In recent weeks Helms has been campaigning across the state with two out-of-state black supporters, former professional football player Roosevelt Grier and a leader of a Washington-based conservative political action committee. A few weeks ago, when Helms spoke for the first time at a predominantly black college, 130 students locked arms in protest outside the auditorium. Black leaders here say these last-minute overtures are not likely to erase the impression that Helms has made on minorities in this state. Starting in the '60s, when, as editorial commentator at WRAL-TV in Raleigh, he railed against the "so-called civil rights movement" and its "degenerate leaders."

So how did a Southern black get involved in the Senator's re-election campaign? "I believe in his philosophy," Allen told *In These Times*. "A person who supports free enterprise can not support prejudice. I do not think Sen. Helms is a racist."

What about the Senator's former vitriolic defense of segregation? "As a born again Christian, I learned forgiveness is the most important thing. As far as I'm concerned, ...the civil rights movement in the '60s was important. That row had to be plowed. And if the Senator was on the other side...that should not stop me today. 20 years later, from doing what is best for blacks and for all of us."

"I'm not angry or bitter. Certainly [racism has affected me]. It affected my parents, but we need to move along from here and

change what happened," he says.

Possibly the most important factor in Allen's decision to work for the Senator was his renewed relationship with Christ. Also, his undergraduate studies at the University of North Carolina made him realize that conservatism was the way in foreign policy—despite the liberal indoctrination he received from professors.

Allen worked in 1982 for a conservative Republican, Bill Cobey, a candidate for Congress he met through the Chapel Hill Bible Church. Cobey, despite considerable backing from Helms' Congressional Club, lost in his bid to unseat Ike Andrews. It was during this campaign that Allen had his first encounters with Sen. Helms, whom he found to be a "very gracious person." Later that year, Allen was offered a Senate staff position by Helms but turned it down because he did not want to live in Washington. But when the Senator offered him the press secretary job in 1983, he accepted.

A recent Republican convert, Claude Allen grew up in a middle-class Democratic family in Washington before moving to the South in 1975. He believes that blacks are generally conservative, supportive of a strong economy, strong defense, in favor of school prayer and against abortion, like Helms. And, according to Allen, minorities have the most to gain from the free enterprise system. Why have blacks not supported Republicans in the past? "I think that historically it is because of the enslavement to the welfare state. Every year the Democrats say [the Republicans] are going to take your welfare. Therefore they're voting out of fear. It's demagoguery."

While Allen is generally a flawless professional and slow to anger, he has slipped on occasion, in particular when he referred to Gov. Hunt's support in the gay community as his links "with the queers." This "indiscretion" occurred about the same time that a mystery group called the "Triangle Educators for Christ" was circulating a letter that says: "Even Hitler and Stalin gassed homosexuals along with the Jews as representatives of the most degenerative filth of mankind." The literature was allegedly paid for by a group called Southern Christians for Helms. The Helms campaign disavowed the letter and maintains that it knows nothing of the two groups.

The scumslinging in this campaign has reached epic proportions with both sides doing their share. Each camp has accused the other of race-baiting. Allen says that "Gov. Hunt and the Reverend Jesse Jackson injected racism into the campaign when they said they were going to come down to North Carolina and register 200,000 minorities for the express purpose of defeating Sen. Helms and President Reagan."

While Allen says that he greatly admired Jesse Jackson before his entry into the presidential fray, he believes Jackson "sold out in order to gain political favors." Pointing to abortion, Allen said Jackson "spoke out very strongly against it. He was very pro-family; then he became a candidate and he became pro-choice."

When asked about his personal views on affirmative action, Allen said he prefers to rely on putting pressure on the marketplace by using boycotts rather than relying on the judiciary, which he "immensely distrusts." To make his point about the court system Allen said, "Look at the abortion issue. In 1973, the Supreme Court said this child does not have any rights—it is not a human being, therefore the mother can beat it, sell it, kill it." Allen compares the *Roe v. Wade* decision to the *Dred Scott* case, "which said that a black man was not a human being."

Allen believes that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has nothing to do with civil rights. "It is a privileges act that will allow the federal government to reach every facet of our lives. It could cripple this nation's industry. Any business that comes in any contact with the federal government is subject to regulation by the federal government. It is a government powers act...."

Is Allen a "token black"? "I'll put it this way," Allen said. "If the Senator wanted a token he could have put him in a much less visible position. I can be as much damage to the campaign as I can

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be of assistance." He also pointed out that in Gov. Hunt's press staff there is not one black face. "Helms is the first person to run for national office that had a black press secretary. Yet Gov. Hunt has 10, 15 or 20 of them and not one black."

How has Allen's family reacted to his new public life? "Dad is a Democrat but is very supportive of me. He taught me to be an individual." He admits that he had endured a bit of verbal abuse from blacks he has encountered on the campaign trail, though most people have been civil.

But there have been trying times for Allen during the campaign. One occurred last fall, when Helms was opposing the Martin Luther King holiday with statements such as: "King's view of American society was thus not fundamentally different from that of the Communist Party, U.S.A., or of other Marxists" and "His hatred for America should be made clear." Allen said that the phone at the office was constantly ringing and he was trying to defend himself and the Senator. Allen recalled that the angry voices were asking: "How could you work for that man?"

Allen said he left the office early to escape the onslaught, but after some investigation of his own, Allen now believes that Helms was right. "I looked at the evidence, and without a doubt some of King's top advisors were Communists."

Alex Charns is a lawyer and freelance journalist living in Chapel Hill, N.C.



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Referendum on Sandinistas

By Chris Norton

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

Editor's note: This story was filed October 31, four days before the election.

THE SANDINISTAS CALLED them the first free elections in 50 years. Although the FSLN's victory was never in doubt—and because of this many people are expected to charge that the elections weren't fair—the spectrum of political parties that participated in the November 4 election was the widest in Nicaraguan history.

The FSLN, Nicaragua's dominant political force, found itself on the firing line before the election, attacked by ultra-leftists on the one side for instituting "bourgeois reforms" and on the other side for instituting "a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship."

Despite the political opening that the election signified, much of the U.S. media chose to focus on the abstention of U.S.-linked Democratic Coordinator as proof of the lack of free and honest elections. The U.S. had tried to discredit the elections since they were first announced in February—even before any details were decided. Those efforts later became outright attempts to encourage the opposition parties to boycott the elections.

Intelligence sources told the *New York Times* that the CIA had maintained close contact with members of the Coordinator, specifically COSEP, the private sector organization, to assure that the Coordinator wouldn't participate. A U.S. official also approached the Conservative Democratic Party (PCD), offering a party leader "as much money as you want" to pull the party out of the elections, according to two party leaders. After a tumultuous convention, however, the party stayed in.

The last party to pull out was the Independent Liberal Party (PLI), which was headed by Virgilio Godoy, the minister of labor, until he resigned to run. Godoy was never a Sandinista, instead joining in a technical alliance, according to an observer here who requested anonymity. Although Godoy had consistently maintained that the PLI might pull out, his party's withdrawal in late October still came as a surprise since it wasn't considered as heavily influenced by the U.S. as the Coordinator.

The pull-out split the party, because much of the base disagreed with the leadership's decision. The decision also carried heavy consequences since parties not participating in the election lose their right as a political party. Despite the pull-out, the PLI appeared on the ballot.

Earlier the PLI had demanded that the elections be postponed until January to give the parties more time to organize and to negotiate other demands with the FSLN.

The calls to postpone the elections had reached the point of absurdity. In 1980 and 1980 the Conservative Party had pushed for early elections and the Sandinistas had declined, saying that the reconstruction damage was their initial priority. But when the elections were finally set for November 4, 1984—instead of 1985 as previously discussed—the opposition parties complained that the date was too early. The Sandinistas wanted the elections to take place before the U.S. elections so an elected government would be in place before what they see as the danger period after Ronald Reagan's re-election.

Although the FSLN was firm on going ahead with the election date, they remained flexible in trying to continue a dialog with the other political parties. This dialog took the form of a series of summit meetings during which participants discussed continued access to the media

for political parties (each party got 30 minutes of TV time a week), the depoliticization of the neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees (CDN), municipal elections and other issues.

What direction Nicaragua will take after the elections remains unclear. The process of dialog that had begun will likely continue. "We don't think the process ends with elections," said FSLN Commandante Vayardo Arce. "Various sectors here have their demands and interests, and they plan to develop those. In the U.S., no matter who wins, a dialog should open with blacks, Chicanos, women and anti-war groups. That won't happen there, but it will happen here."

That dialog, however, may not focus on what the FSLN probably considers "bourgeois" parties without a social base. And while they may be forced, for prag-

matic reasons, to reach an understanding with the conservative Catholic Church hierarchy and the powerful economic interests of COSEP, the dialog the FSLN seeks, as a vanguard party, is with the "popular classes."

"Here we have a national dialog between the workers and the peasants. That's a basic dialog," FSLN presidential candidate Daniel Ortega told a large crowd of peasants in Matagalpa after he had handed out some land titles. But a dialog with the *contras* (demanded by the Coordinator and the church) was ruled out. "We will have the dialog of the people armed with machetes, clubs and guns—that is how we will dialog with the Somocistas," said Ortega.

Before the elections the FSLN made concessions to the church, recently pardoning Father Pena, a priest implicated

in a counter-revolutionary plot. Yet tensions between the FSLN and the church continued. After he traveled to Europe, Pablo Vegas, the conservative bishop of Juigalpa, read a statement to journalists just 10 days before the elections warning Christians to look the parties over carefully and also criticizing the Sandinistas.

Despite tensions with the church, pressures from the war and food rationing, support for the Sandinistas is still strong, especially in the countryside among peasants who have benefited from the agrarian reform.

"The only party that has ever cared about us is the FSLN," said a peasant who is a cooperative member. "The other parties have never given us anything."

Yet the country's economic problems are serious and have cost the FSLN support. "Things are hard. You get a real sense of frustration now," said an American living in Managua. "You see lines all over the place."

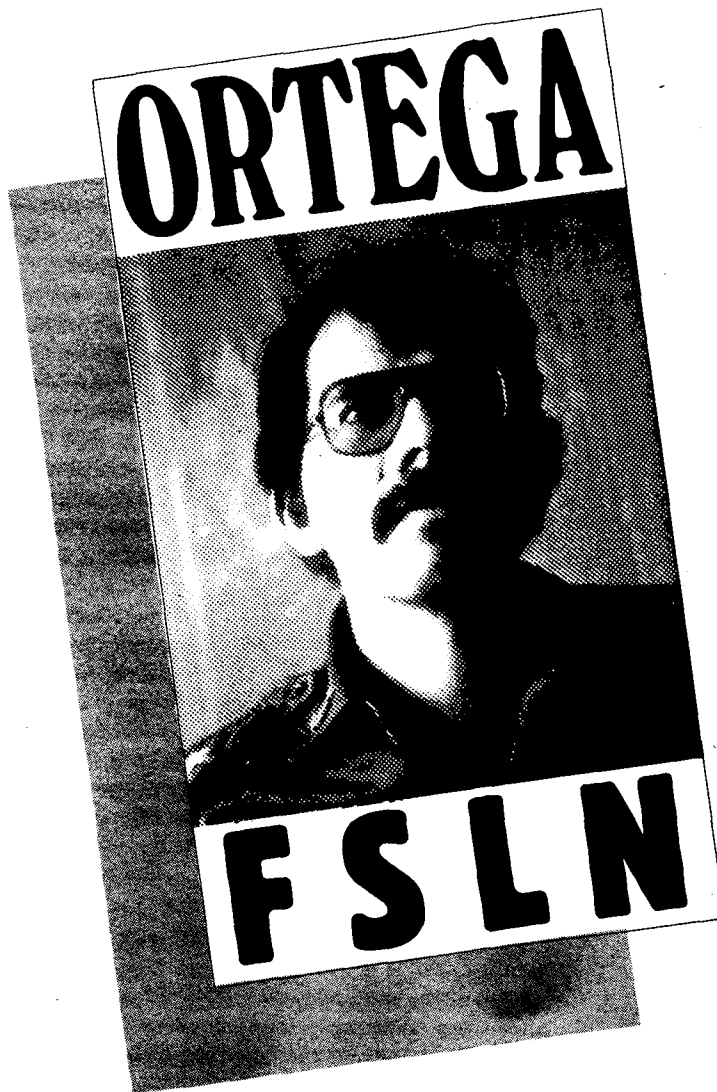
"There are shortages. The buses are breaking down. You never found these problems in Managua before," said another American who has lived in Nicaragua for the past four years. "People are living with difficulties that they never had before—problems that before people have had only in the countryside."

"The government doesn't bother us workers," said a young Managua worker who doesn't particularly like the Sandinistas. "There's no repression, but we feel it here," he said, pointing to his stomach. "There's no toothpaste, batteries and other things—basic necessities for the people. I'm not for socialism like the government; I'm not for capitalism either, since I'm not a capitalist. I just want to work and get ahead. That's what the government doesn't understand—that someone like me just wants to work."

Although food supplies improved before the elections when a new distribution system was instituted in August, the shortages were exploited by *La Prensa*, the opposition newspaper, by the private sector group COSEP and by the conservative opposition parties in order to attack the Sandinistas. They all charged that the shortages are the inevitable result of the government's socialist policies. While some of the shortages have been the result of government mistakes and bureaucratic inefficiency, the U.S.-sponsored *contra* war is a major cause as well. At least 25 percent—and some estimate as high as 45 percent—of the budget is now being devoted to the war effort.

"There's no meat in the country," said a young nurse whose family owns a Managua corner market that grinds meat and cannot get replacement parts for its

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Ortega photo: Marcelo Montecino

Will the U.S. invade?

Will he or won't he? Rumors flourish, but experts in Washington are divided over whether Ronald Reagan would invade Nicaragua soon if he wins re-election. Administration officials have discussed the possibility seriously, some say, but there are constraints, both political and military.

Retired Adm. Gene R. LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, believes that the administration is determined to remove the Sandinistas from power and that the military infrastructure is now in place for the introduction of U.S. troops. From a military point of view, he and some other high-ranking officers concluded, "November 15 strikes us as an ideal time" for an invasion.

LaRocque says he has no evidence that there are plans for that date. Earlier Sandinista Commandante Daniel Ortega warned that the U.S. had planned an invasion October 15, and the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), a Washington research and lobbying group, announced last year that the U.S. government had a "Plan Pegasus"

for October 1983 that involved a Honduran military sortie into Nicaragua that would provoke a Nicaraguan military response. That would lead, Grenada-style, to a request from the recently re-activated Central American Defense Community for U.S. assistance to an ally under attack and U.S. bombardment of Nicaragua from sea and air.

Over the past couple of years, the U.S. has built up a "virtually permanent" infrastructure in Honduras in conjunction with the Big Pine I and II military exercises, according to a congressional report. It includes seven airfields, two radar stations, a tank trap and other facilities that can support the roughly 1,000 U.S. military permanently there. Recently the U.S. announced it would carry out Big Pine III exercises.

LaRocque argues that Nicaragua would be hard to defend if roughly 50,000 U.S. troops, including at least one airborne division, seized Managua and the ports, sealed roads and took over communications. A blockade would soon exhaust ammunition for popular resistance. In November the

weather would be good, Congress would be adjourned and there would be significant delays in even invoking the War Powers Act. "If the administration intends to get rid of the Sandinistas in the next four years, it's the ideal time," LaRocque said. "Why wait?"

COHA Director Larry Birns has been told by administration sources that a later target date of February 15 has been proposed by a military options paper now being discussed by the administration. But he believes that military action in any case would be part of an integrated plan that involves sabotaging the Contadora's diplomacy, maintaining economic pressure to create popular dissatisfaction in Nicaragua, and undermining the legitimacy of the Sandinistas by pressuring opposition parties to withdraw from the elections. The U.S. has pressured European allies not to send economic aid and persuaded the new conservative Canadian government not to send observers to the Nicaraguan elections, as former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau had done for two elections in El Salvador.

Given Reagan's personal "messianic zeal" to eliminate the Sandinistas, Birns said, "I think we are right now in a tunnel of danger, and the Reagan admini-

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INSHORT

CEO Squirm

When a Nobel Peace prize winner talks, people listen. This year's recipient—South African Bishop Desmond Tutu—has used the opportunity to repeat for as many ears as possible a conversation with a young girl he met in a resettlement camp in his country, reports Paul Bass. He told this story in an unusual place: St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Darien, Conn., a wealthy bedroom community noted for its Fortune 500 executives. Tutu met the girl outside the shack she shared with her mother and sister. The South African government had recently demolished their home in a squatter camp outside Capetown, where they had moved to be near their father. The bishop asked her what the family does for food. She said they "borrow" food—when they can. And when they can't find anyone to "lend" them food? "We drink water to fill our stomachs," the girl replied. "We drink water to fill our stomachs in South Africa, which is a net exporter of food," Tutu somberly told the congregation. "And I wish to remind those who are involved economically in South Africa that whether you like it or not, whether you wish it to be so or not, you are buttressing a system such as this one."

Tennis, Buffy?

Organizers of Student Peace Day—the left students' answer to the Student Liberation Day of College Republicans (CR)—beat the CRs at their own game. While the CRs brought in medical students "freed" during the invasion of Grenada to let students know what a great guy Ronald Reagan is, Peace Day people responded by holding forums to give an alternative view of Reagan's foreign policies. And reports from a dozen or so colleges—including conservative Georgetown, Iowa State and University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia—showed an abysmal following for the CRs and more than decent turnouts for the Reagan opposition. Sixty-seven colleges reported running Peace Day events, some with notable theatrics. At the University of Colorado, for example, 1,500 students were on hand for a forum on Central America and then marched over to witness a presentation of a tennis racket and beach towel to the U.S. medical student speaking at the Liberation Day event. And Joe Iosbaker of the Progressive Student Network (PSN) group at the University of Iowa thinks it won't end there. "The conservative base on campus is complacent. They're not well organized, they're not motivated." Which leads the PSN, CISPES and the U.S. Students Association to work for a planned shake-up on the campuses next spring with a focus on Central America.

Suicide's not painless

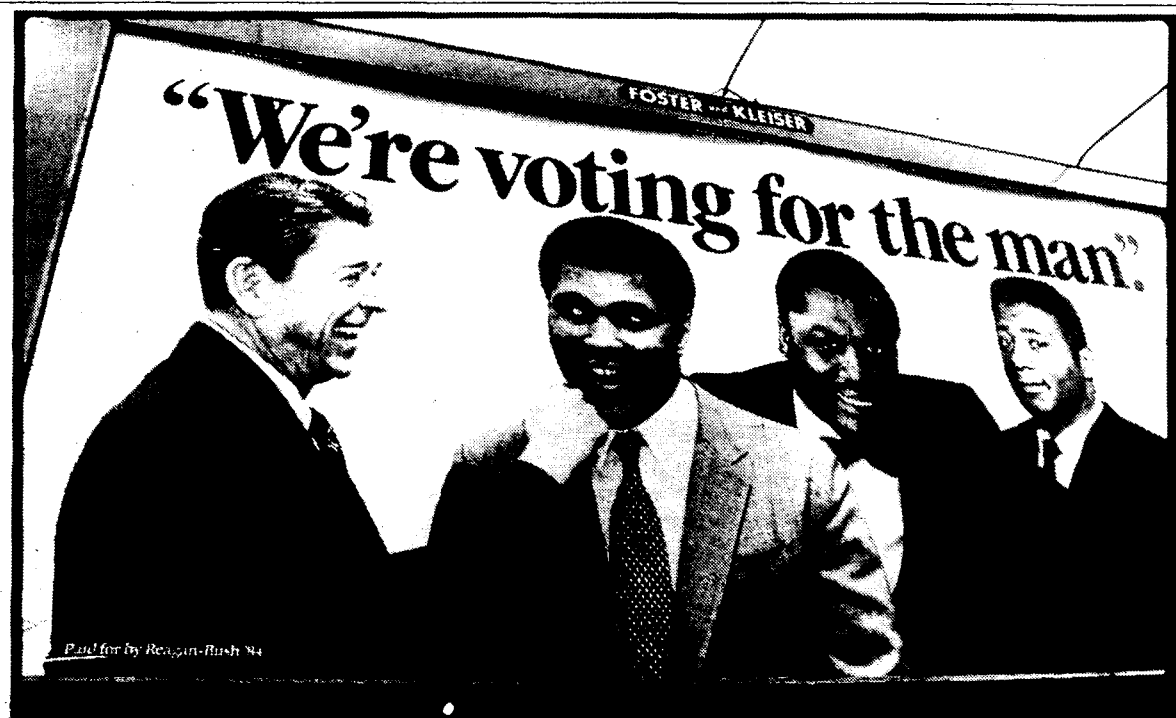
Some nuclear freeze supporters took exception to a non-binding referendum last month at Brown University, in which students voted to ask their campus health services to stock cyanide capsules so they could commit suicide in the event of a nuclear war. Although the referendum passed, some expressed concern that the despairing tone of the proposal would cause the students to give up hope rather than motivate them to activism. Brown junior Jason Salzman, who thought up the idea for the referendum, disagreed. Now he says he has proof. Through publicity generated by the referendum, Salzman and fellow Brown activists linked up with groups on 14 other college campuses to organize nationwide rallies on November 2 urging students to make the arms race a key election issue. The organizers made sure to point out this time that they didn't invent the concept of hopelessness during a nuclear war: they're calling themselves Students Against Nuclear Suicide.

On the auction Block

In Iowa, corporations involved in farming must file disclosure reports with the secretary of state. But Agriculture Secretary John Block's farm corporation, Su-Jac, Inc.—he owns it with his wife, Sue—hasn't filed a report since 1981, when Sue Block took over the business. More than 200 farmers gathered in Galesburg, Ill., in late October to conduct a protest "auction" of Block's farm, reports Jim Schwab. Dan Levitas of Rural America's Midwest office in Des Moines followed Block's failure to report, telling the farmers that it's punishable by a fine of up to \$1,000, and once the sloucher is notified by the secretary of state, an additional \$100 a day can be tagged onto the original fine. As of last week, Levitas didn't know if the secretary of agriculture had been notified yet, though.

The auction highlighted a rally that was marked by an increasing level of hostility and dismay toward the Reagan administration's farm policies. Iowa United Auto Workers President Chuck Gifford was cheered long and loud for his appeal for farmers to "go to the streets" and use civil disobedience if necessary to let people know that the future of family farms in America is at stake and must be preserved. —Beth Maschinot

Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o In These Times, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.



Taking it to the streets: This ad, paid for by Reagan-Bush '84, was the target of graffiti groups across the country when it surfaced in black communities. COVERT (Committee of Voters Embarrassed by Reagan Tactics) claimed three hits in Chicago alone.

San Francisco's restaurant workers: A two-month strike raises the stakes

SAN FRANCISCO—When the largest union in this city—Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Union—voted over two months ago to strike rather than accept a take-away contract from their employers, local media called it a bluff. The head of the Golden Gate Restaurant Association (GGRA), that represents 55 restaurants, accused Local 2 President Charles Lamb of hiding the details of the contract from union members. But seven and a half weeks later, when the members voted 95 percent to reject that same offer, restaurant owners finally realized they had a serious fight on their hands.

"The GGRA has insulted our members by saying they do not understand what they strike for," declared Lamb after the second vote. "You don't go on strike this long without knowing why."

The restaurant workers knew they were in for a long battle when, months before the last contract was to expire on September 1, the GGRA presented their union with a demand for give-backs in every area. The owners asked for a two-tier wage system in which many new employees would make nearly 30 percent less than veteran workers. They also proposed increasing the minimum hours needed to be eligible for medical benefits.

And most objectionable to the union, the restaurants demanded an end to job classifications: waiters could be told to clean bathrooms, cooks to wash dishes. "For years we've fought for and won craft rules that protect

us from becoming interchangeable, while allowing the restaurants to do their business," explained Local 2 organizer Wendy Russman. "Now in one contract the owners are trying to dismantle it all."

To drive home the seriousness of their demands, 17 of the restaurants whose contracts had expired broke off from the GGRA and hired San Francisco's most well-known management attorney: Mark Montobbio. Montobbio arrived fresh from a victory over Local 1100, the department store union representing more than 4,000 workers at San Francisco Macy's and Emporium Capwell. During a bitter six-week long strike, Montobbio obtained a crippling injunction restraining picketing in front of Macy's. Exhausted and broke, the workers settled for a two-tier system and cutbacks in medical benefits.

"Montobbio position is 'take it or leave it,' and if you leave it he sets out to destroy you," says Chuck Mack, a Teamster official in Oakland whose union has tangled with the attorney in the past. No sooner did Montobbio begin negotiations with Local 2 than he started decertification proceedings against the union in six restaurants, sending letters to workers informing them of their "right" to leave the union.

Although Local 2 members are sold against making concessions in the next contract, not everyone agrees on the union's handling of the strike. Lamb has been cautiously calling union restaurants one by one, two by two, so that even now only about half of

the 77 eating houses—employing more than 2,000 union members—are being picketed. Some of the union organizers think it's a smart move—a number of well-known union restaurants lost business even before they were actually on strike.

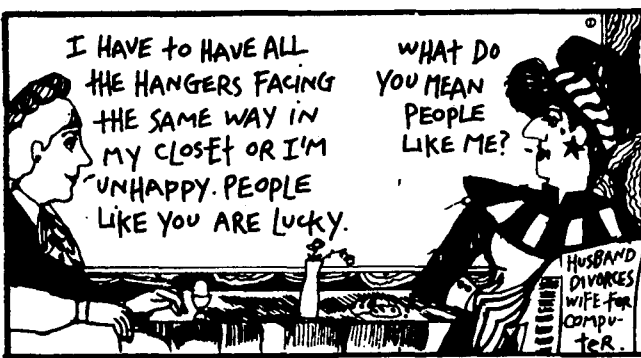
Others opposed the "rolling strike" strategy, especially members of Local 2's negotiating committee. They say that it demoralizes workers out on strike to see so many other union members still on the job collecting pay. "It's also unfair to the members still working," explains Ted Zurr, who sits on the negotiating committee. "The owners spend every day trying to intimidate them into going against the union."

Petitions signed by several hundred strikers have been presented urging Local 2's leaders to expand the strike. It's likely now that most of the owners will see picket lines in front of their restaurants before both sides agree to a contract.

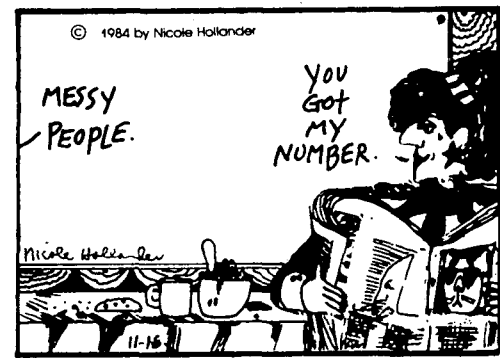
That contract is probably not coming for at least a few months. Some restaurants are already hiring permanent replacements for strikers—a move that has received much press attention. But the leaders and organizers of this union remain officially, and unofficially, confident of victory: an agreement with modest wage gains and without major concessions. "The restaurants can't hire customers," explains Local 2 press agent Barbara Lewis. "And people in San Francisco honor picket lines."

—Matthew Lasar

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



NEW JUDGES

Court's worst-case scenario

By John B. Judis

WHEN LIBERALS QUAKE over the prospect of Ronald Reagan establishing a conservative majority on the Supreme Court, they most often conjure up the goateed visage of Judge Robert Bork, who as Richard Nixon's solicitor general fired Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox after Nixon's attorney general and his deputy had demurred. Known for his outspoken opposition to abortion and homosexuality and for his narrow interpretation of the First Amendment—in a 1971 essay Bork argued that it should apply only to non-subversive and “explicitly political” speech—he was appointed by Reagan in 1982 to the Appeals Court of the District of Columbia and is rumored to be high on his list of prospective Supreme Court nominees.

But there may be a fate even worse than a Supreme Court that makes abortion illegal and reinstitutes the ban on *Ulysses* and Communism. In conservative legal circles, the most prominent philosophical trend is called “law and economics.” Developed largely at the University of Chicago Law School under the influence of Milton Friedman and George Stigler's free-market economics, Law and Economics can claim the allegiance of four appointed Appeals Court judges: Bork (who graduated from the University of Chicago Law School), Yale's Ralph Winter, and former University of Chicago law professors Richard Posner and Antonin Scalia.

Of these, the most eminent intellectually is Posner, 45, the author of the standard “law and economics” textbook, *The Economic Analysis of the Law*. In a *Washington Post* profile of Posner, Lincoln Caplan described him as a “prime candidate for a Reagan Supreme Court.”

Posner's legal opinions would make those of the current right-wing *enfant terrible* Justice William Rehnquist look tame and moderate. A Court dominated by Posner and by “law and economics” would threaten not only the First Amendment and *Roe v. Wade*, but the very foundations of the welfare state and of civilized society as we know it. Beneath the legal pronouncement of “law and economics” lurks a right-wing radicalism far more sweeping than any the U.S. has seen.

Rules of the market.

The premise of “law and economics” is that all legal questions, from rape to libel, can be reduced to the quantifiable terms of free market economics, as propounded originally by Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham. “Whereas the ‘old’ law and economics confined its attention to laws governing explicit economic relationships,” Posner writes, “the ‘new’ law and economics recognizes no such limitation on the domain of the economic analysis of law.”

According to Posner, each individual is out to maximize rationally his or her “satisfactions” or “wealth.” When a criminal decides whether to commit a crime, he weighs whether he wants to purchase the “good” (i.e. the crime) at the “price” (i.e. the possible jail term) at which it is available. When a judge rules on a case, he rules—or ought to rule—according to how to allocate most efficiently the society's resources—in other words, how to maximize the society's wealth. For Posner and “law and economics,” questions of justice are reducible to questions of the efficient allocation of resources. Posner wrote in a 1975 summary of his position:

When we describe as ‘unjust’ convicting a person without a trial, taking property without just compensation, or failing

to require a negligent automobile driver to answer in damages to the victim of his carelessness, we can be interpreted as meaning simply that the conduct or practice wastes resources.

“Law and economics” claims to be both a descriptive and normative theory. It describes what the underlying, if unacknowledged, premise of many a judicial decision is, and it also sets out a standard of efficiency by which to evaluate judicial decisions.

Some of the targets of Posner and “law and economics” are predictable. He recently took aim against the “exclusionary rule” (which forbids courts to accept evidence that is obtained illegally) on the grounds that “the private [and social] cost imposed on government [by the rule] may greatly exceed the social cost of [a policeman's] misconduct.” Other proponents of “law and economics” have attacked anti-trust laws, securities and ex-

“Modest Proposal” for ending the famine in Ireland. But Posner and Landes were not writing satire.

Buying and selling babies.

Posner and Landes propose that the system of adopting children through agencies be replaced by a free market in babies, where adoptable babies would simply be sold to the highest bidder. They tirelessly enumerate the advantage of establishing a baby market:

At a higher price for babies, the incidence of abortion, the reluctance to part with an illegitimate child and even the incentive to use contraceptives would diminish because the costs of unwanted pregnancy would be lower while the [opportunity] costs to the natural mother of retaining her illegitimate child would rise....

Thus the effect of legalizing the baby market would be not only to shift the marginal cost of baby production and



Richard Posner, a former colleague of Milton Friedman, could soon be a Supreme Court appointee.

U.S. Appeals Court Justice Richard Posner, a Reagan favorite, believes in “free baby production and sale” to reduce the incidence of abortion and even the use of contraceptives.

change regulation and workers' compensation laws because of their alleged inefficiency.

But Posner has not flinched before the most controversial applications of his method. As a Seventh District Appeals Court judge stationed in Chicago, he has argued against allowing free counsel to prisoners who bring civil rights suits. According to Posner, a prisoner should have to test the viability of his suit by seeking an attorney who was willing to take the case on a contingent fee.

Posner's most startling application of “law and economics” came in a 1978 essay published in *The Journal of Legal Studies*, written with Elisabeth Landes, on “The Economics of the Baby Shortage.” Posner and Landes' essay bears a striking resemblance to Jonathan Swift's

sale downward but to move the demand curve for adoptive children upward....

They even raise the possibility of warranties and of economic planning of babies—or eugenics. They write, “In a regime of free baby production and sale there might be efforts to breed children with a known set of characteristics that could be matched up with those desired by prospective adoptive parents.”

Posner and Landes run through a series of objections to their proposal—they insist they do not believe that parents “should have a right to sell older children”—but they curiously ignore the most basic objection of all: that human beings, from birth to death, should not be treated as commodities, but as ends in themselves. Since such an objection falls outside the scope of Milton Friedman's

economics, they do not consider it. The actuary's green eyeshade blinds them to the principles for which many Americans died in the Civil War and in World War II.

Other proponents of “law and economics” do not necessarily share Posner and Landes' view of babies or Posner's view of prisoners (“would the objection to medical experimentation on convicts remain unshaken if it were shown persuasively that the social benefits of such experiments greatly exceeded the costs?” he asks), but they share the premises from which such conclusions follow. “Law and economics” reduces morality to the market.

Right-wing radicals.

Both the libertarians and the conservatives have championed “law and economics.” An October 26 conference in Washington sponsored by the libertarian Cato Institute on “Economic Liberties and the Constitution” highlighted Scalia and University of Chicago professor Richard Epstein, who took over the editorship of *The Journal of Legal Studies* from Posner when Reagan elevated him to the bench. In the conservative Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, Richard Vigilante included Bork, Scalia and Epstein in his list of the four most desirable

Supreme Court nominees.

“Law and economics” illustrates the darker side of American conservatism. The free-market jurists present their ideas as an attempt to restore liberties Americans once had. And by eliminating the minimum wage, workers' compensation, anti-trust laws and other forms of business regulation, they would restore to corporations a degree of freedom they have not enjoyed since the 1890s, while depriving the employees of those corporations of a host of freedoms that do not readily fall within the libertarian calculus.

But by extending market principles to areas of life formerly ruled by love, friendship and individual responsibility, they would fashion a capitalism only vaguely imagined by Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and Jean Luc Godard's *Alphaville*. And by extending the market to human beings themselves, they would lay the foundation for the kinds of excesses in the name of wealth and progress practiced by the Stalins and the Pinochets.

In his second term, Reagan may get to appoint as many as five new justices. The Democrats on the Judiciary Committee would be well advised not merely to ask nominees what they think about fetuses and Christmas *creches*, but what their opinion of “law and economics” is. ■

FSLN

Continued from page 3

machinery. "While they buy arms, the people are dying of hunger," she said. But according to many observers, her accusation is inaccurate.

She acknowledged that the government had built health clinics, but said, "There are no doctors or nurses or medicine. What good is an empty building with nothing inside? The treatment at the hospitals is bad. They come in walking and they leave in a casket." She claimed one woman lost her leg for lack of insulin.

The U.S.-directed war and the more hidden U.S. economic blockade are designed to help build a base for the counter-revolution. "People just want work, food and to be left alone," said a cab driver who claimed he makes big money by driving people to the northern border, where transport is lacking. He buys extra gas on the black market and also bribes gas station attendants to sell him extra gas.

"If the U.S. invaded here, did it quick like in Grenada, and then brought in lots of dollars, people would be satisfied as long as things got better economically," he said.

While the taxi driver doesn't represent the nationalistic feelings of most Nicaraguans, sustained economic problems and the war of attrition are having an effect. Still, most Nicaraguans interviewed by *In These Times* said they see the war as a "war of dignity."

A large *contra* force was discovered near the northern town of Esteli just before the elections, and most of the militias were mobilized along with regular army units and two Soviet-built helicopter to defend the town.

Although the expected *contra* offensive of October 15 never materialized, the war and the possibility of a U.S. invasion remains on everyone's mind (accompanying story, page 3). "Do you think the U.S.

will invade after Reagan is elected?" was the question Nicaraguans asked this reporter in the militarized northern part of the country. But it appears that the Sandinista army can handle the *contra* forces, even with their increasing use of aircraft. Yet some Sandinista leaders believe that the Reagan administration is determined to destroy them, and the only way to do it will be direct U.S. intervention. In that event, the Sandinistas have talked of abandoning the cities and retreating to the mountains to take up guerrilla warfare with weapons already stashed there.

Earlier this year the Sandinistas also instituted a draft, called the Patriotic Military Service, to systemize recruitment. Judging from discussions with Nicaraguans around the country, U.S. press reports about Nicaraguans' dissatisfaction with the draft have exaggerated the problem. While the sectors who oppose the Sandinistas also oppose the draft, draft resistance does not appear to be as widespread as some published reports indicated.

Support for the Sandinistas is especially high among the young and is one reason the FSLN successfully pushed to lower the voting age to 16. The move gave at least several thousand votes to the FSLN.

The Sandinistas' determination to stand up to the U.S. became a campaign issue. Both the Catholic Church hierarchy and the U.S.-linked Coordinator portrayed the Sandinistas as provocative and militaristic and advocated dialog with the *contras*, who they present as a legitimate force. This fit the U.S. construct of "symmetry" between the Salvadoran guerrillas and the Nicaraguan *contras*, ignoring the fact that the *contras* are almost entirely a creation of the Reagan administration.

"Only with the Liberal Independent Party will there be peace," read the slogan of the PLI, one of several parties to emphasize the peace issue. The election, however, also wound up being a referendum on the war.

Even before November 4 the elections

were criticized as unfair, both because of the predominant role the FSLN plays in the state and because of the intimidation of opposition parties by Sandinista supporters, known as the *turbas*, or mob. After Arturo Cruz' meetings in August and mid-September, fights and rock-throwing broke out between Cruz supporters and a large crowd. And on two occasions all the windows in Cruz' car were smashed. The opposition then painted the *turbas* as Sandinista goon squads controlled alternately by the army, state security, the militias or the Sandinista Defense Committees. In response, the Sandinistas claimed that the *turbas* are merely the result of spontaneous anger from a politicized people.

Although the anger expressed at the rallies seemed spontaneous—Cruz held his meetings at the same time the Coordinator was attempting to discredit the elections by refusing to participate—the Sandinistas bear some responsibility for what happened when they bused their supporters in. "But the blame has to be shared," said an observer. "The opposition parties have also been provocative, calling the Sandinista *commandantes* traitors and other names that people resent."

Yet the Cruz demonstrations in mid-September and the much smaller-scale fight that broke out between the Sandinistas and members of the Democratic Conservative Party leaving a meeting in Jinotepe on October 7 were the last violent incidents to mar the campaign. "The word seemed to go out that things had gone too far," said the same observer. "Since Massaya [where Cruz' car windows were broken] there was a change."

After that time all political parties held meetings every weekend in different parts of the country without major incidents. Criticism of the government was strong at campaign rallies and on the nightly television programs allotted each party.

Just a week before the elections, beneath the hammer and sickle of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, a candidate, veteran labor organizer Domingo Sanchez, blasted the Sandinista *commandantes*. "We would like to see those who have

five or six cars stand in line and stand in these lines that the people are suffering in."

One onlooker said she was not convinced by Sanchez. "I am going to vote for those who give land to people who need it, said the woman, who had been shopping at a nearby market with her daughter. "We're voting for the *Frente* [FSLN]. They're the ones who are helping people."

Asked if she believed that the Sandinista leaders were living well while everyone else suffered, she replied, "They sacrificed their lives, their youth in the mountains, while we went to parties in the cities. It is a lie that they are living high. Maybe they have a car, but they are working 16 to 18 hours a day for us."

"Nicaraguans like to complain—maybe that's a fault of ours. People complain now as they have always complained, but I think most of them realize that things are better," said the woman, who owns a small business.

While the Nicaraguan elections didn't conform to the U.S. model, they were an undeniable political opening, as well as a sign of the institutionalization of the Sandinista revolution.

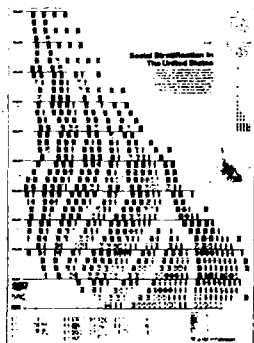
Compared to elections of recent years in other Central American countries, the freedom and range of expression observed in Nicaragua before the elections was notable. In El Salvador, for example, the opposition FDR couldn't even enter the country. And despite censorship in Nicaragua, the opposition paper *La Prensa* continued to be a strong pre-election opposition voice. In contrast, El Salvador's only two independent papers were closed years ago when one was bombed and the other's editor and photographer were killed.

Much of Nicaragua's future direction remains unclear, dependent on many factors. But the elections may be an important step to building a system within the framework of a vanguard party that integrates political pluralism and open criticism. At the least, the Nicaraguan elections were the first official nationwide measure of Sandinista support.

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By Beth Maschinot

GERALDINE FERRARO WAS right—the Catholic Church is not a monolith on abortion. But you'd never know it this election year because of the high-profile church hierarchy, which has the resources to frame the abortion issue in its own terms and, to some extent, to silence dissenters.

When New York Bishop John O'Connor slapped Ferraro's hand for "misrepresenting the church's position" on abortion, Ferraro explained that she was referring to a diversity in opinion among church members, not recent church doctrine. In a church that officially responds to abortion with an unequivocal "No," Catholic ethicists write theological defenses of abortion, nuns support a pro-choice position and Catholics for a Free Choice (CFC)—a Washington-based group with 5,000 members, mostly lay—lobbies legislatures in 20 states and runs educational programs in parishes across the country.

Catholics who call themselves "pro-choice" or who are at least willing to discuss abortion in terms other than the bishops' black and white are still a small minority. But they have recently begun to inch themselves into the liberal Catholic press and hope to gain a hearing with a large majority of Catholics—89 percent, according to a 1982 poll—who, when pressed, also don't agree with the bishops' categorical opposition to abortion.

Their immediate message is strategic and political: outlawing abortions will not stop them, so any Catholic concerned with the 1.5 million abortions in the U.S. must search for a different strategy. Most push a legislative agenda that includes increased spending for contraception, day care and fairer wages for women—not exactly high priorities for the bishops.

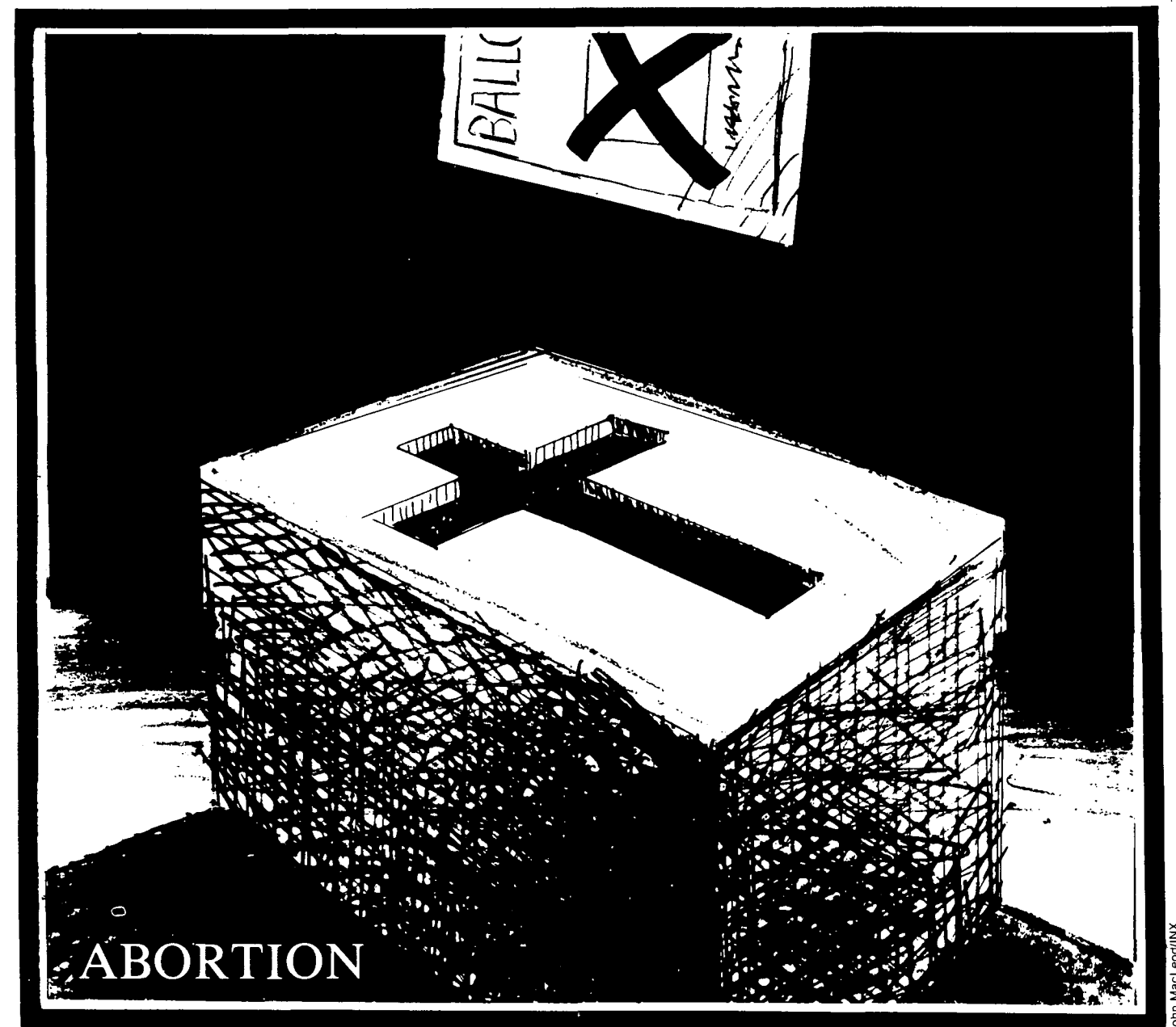
Their underlying message is moral and theological: although abortion is always a tragedy, it is not always immoral. The history of views on abortion in the church is not as absolute as Rome and the bishops would like it to appear, and the complexity of the issue calls for a greater range of views to be aired.

The pro-choice Catholics believe the bishops are capable of a more complex view of the issue, and are enraged that their pre-election pronouncements on abortion fed so easily into a right-wing agenda. The fact that these liberal Catholics supported the bishops stand in the 1983 pastoral on war and peace has made the hierarchy's stand on abortion, and even the "seamless garment" argument, especially hard to swallow. "The peace pastoral gave the bishops credibility because it was done in a thoughtful, nuanced way, by consensus," says Daniel Maguire, a moral theologian at Marquette University and member of the board of Catholics for a Free Choice. "But their treatment of abortion has been different—it's ethics by edict. And it just won't wash anymore."

Maguire has increasingly spoken out on abortion, an issue he calls the "new test of orthodoxy" in the church. The fact that it is used to divide the faithful from the unfaithful has silenced many of Maguire's colleagues, mostly male theologians or priests who can be shuttled off into distant corners by their bishops if their views get out of line.

Maguire, an ex-priest now married to a theologian and the father of a nine-year-old son, has tenure as his safeguard. Thus his views on abortion flow with a mix of hard-hitting accusations against the hierarchy, common-sense ethical insights and a sprinkling of Latin phrases. It is a hard-fought position that leaves him open to late-night death threats from fanatic right-to-lifers and more rational phone calls from colleagues who ask him to back off the issue. "One called to say I was tearing down the bishops' respectability on nuclear arms" by speaking so ardently about a woman's right to have an abortion. "I told him to give up now would be once again selling women out for a 'more important' agenda."

In Maguire's argument, the woman's is the most important life. His moral weighing process also includes fetal life—a life



A crack in the Catholic monolith

he defines as "human, developing toward personhood, but certainly not a person in the early stages of pregnancy." The modern church has tended to "rhapsodize" about the fetus as person, unlike the early church that viewed abortion as another form of contraception or as a sexual sin, like adultery or homosexuality.

Maguire speaks to a church that bases its teachings on the Bible and tradition. He says there is no condemnation of abortion in the Bible and that there is not a consistent view in Catholic tradition. The abortion argument rests on notions of "personhood" and "ensoulment," concepts that can't be proven.

Sister Margaret Traxler of the National Coalition of American Nuns (NCAN) agrees that the fetus has long overshadowed the importance of the woman in church thought. NCAN, a group of 2,000 nuns active in social justice work, took 10 years to agree to a pro-choice position. Traxler attributes the stance to the nuns' work with poor women and women in prisons, who suffer rape, incest and subsequent pregnancy in overwhelming numbers. She sees obvious sexism in the way the church metes out punishment. "If a woman is impregnated by rape and chooses an abortion, she's excommunicated—but her rapist is not."

But the bishops aren't listening to women. Sister Ann Carr, a theologian at the University of Chicago, has been a recent casualty of the "ethics by edict." Carr was one of five women picked to consult the bishops on an upcoming pastoral on women—a pastoral likely to cause as great a stir as the peace pastoral and the soon-to-be released pastoral on the economy. In early October, though, she signed a CFC statement placed in the *New York Times* that simply asked for an acknowledgement that "a diversity of opinion on abortion exists among committed Catholics." Carr informed the bishops that she had signed the statement. They informed her that she should resign from the committee.

Carr herself is undecided about the morality of abortion, but cites the ambi-

guity of the church's teachings on "ensoulment" and the capability of the embryo to split and recombine in its first few weeks as openings for the church to reconsider its position on the fetus as a "person" from conception. Carr now believes that the bishops should also listen to other experts on abortion, as they seriously engaged experts while writing the peace pastoral. Part of that group of experts would be women who have faced an unwanted pregnancy. This would be an historic meeting, and, in the present climate, a highly unlikely one.

Why does the hierarchy have such a stranglehold on women's reproduction? Carr argues that it's the result of a male celibate cadre having a 2,000-year-old monopoly on theological and public policy decisions in the church. The problems of contemporary women are bound to be overlooked or distorted because of this history weighted against them.

Maguire agrees, and thinks the battle over abortion (and in more subtle form, the seamless garment argument) distorts the biblical mandate of his church. "While the Bible nowhere condemns abortion, it does strongly tell us to take a preferential option for the poor. That Bishop O'Connor controls an archdiocese with one of the heaviest black populations, and in the name of pro-life supports an administration that has in effect sought to end civil rights in this country is a scandal."

Church priorities.

Though Cardinal Joseph Bernardin advances a "seamless garment" of moral issues, the church's anti-abortion activities garner more financial and media support than the other "pro-life" issues of nuclear war and capital punishment. The NCCB's Pro-Life Committee—which deals mainly with abortion—has an annual budget of \$1 million, which does not include all the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent each year in dioceses across the country. Some of this money is spent on educational activities and much is spent in specific lobbying efforts—resources the bishops refused to commit in support of

the peace pastoral. Richard Doerflinger, a legislative aid for the Pro-Life Committee, also points out that the committee is the only one traditionally headed by a cardinal, to "give abortion a certain status as the most fundamental of moral issues." With Bernardin fresh from the peace pastoral committee and heading the pro-life group, media visibility is ensured.

In the few weeks before the Nov. 6 election, Bernardin used this high-profile to try and rein in the three conservative bishops—O'Connor of New York, Bernard Law of Boston and John Krol of Philadelphia—who had at times controlled the abortion debate with inflammatory rhetoric (O'Connor's "another Holocaust") and strong-arm politicking (Krol's directive asking parishioners to vote only for anti-abortion candidates).

Bernardin's speech at Georgetown came close on the heels of the statement of 23 Pax Christi bishops, who closely aligned themselves to the peace pastoral and who, at the urging of lay Catholics, released a statement condemning the single-issue thrust of the campaign and called for greater concern for the threat of nuclear war.

But Catholics on the left in touch with the people who vote think it was too little, too late. "If we lose this one, I'll hold the bishops responsible," and angry Sister Marge Tuite said a week before the election. Tuite's job with Church Women United takes her across the country each week, speaking to church people about Central America, women's issues and other "pro-life" concerns. "The bishops have managed to shift this election to the right in the media—they've made extremism respectable again." In Maguire's words, abortion has become an "ideological shield" used to advance the "mean-spirited agenda of Reaganism."

Several surveys show that abortion is usually ranked last as a consideration when voters go to the polls. But the bishops did have a large hand in setting the election agenda—in Catholic parlance, through sins of omission as well as commission—and undoubtedly there were many Catholics the bishops could have set against Reagan if their "pro-life" message had acknowledged the ambiguity of abortion and more loudly condemned Reagan's injustice toward the poor.

So pro-choice Catholics have tried in the last few months to get the word out: it's possible to be pro-choice and Catholic, and it may be the only respectable position in a pluralistic society.

AFRICA

South Africa-Mozambique truce is a FRELIMO victory

By Allen Isaacman

MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

THE OCTOBER CEASE-FIRE reached in Pretoria between the Mozambican government and the opposition Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) provided South Africa with a rare diplomatic triumph. Pretoria received accolades in the world press for master-minding the agreement—a sharp contrast to recurring international criticism of its racist policies, illegal occupation of Namibia and invasion of Angola.

The conflict in Mozambique is not, as South Africa and right-wing forces in the U.S. contend, a civil war between political factions. Unlike the governing FRELIMO party that came to power as an expression of Mozambican nationalism after 10 years of fighting the Portuguese, the MNR was the creature of South African and Rhodesian security officials.

Both Ken Flower, formerly the head of Rhodesian intelligence, and the South African spy Gordon Winter, in his book *Inside Boss*, are clear on this point. Beginning in 1976, South African security, working with their Rhodesian counterparts, recruited Portuguese settlers and mercenaries, black and white colonial secret police agents and former African members of the elite special forces of the Portuguese army who had fled to South Africa and Rhodesia after Mozambican independence.

In retaliation for Mozambique's imposition of the 1976 UN sanction against Rhodesia and support for ZANU (Zimbabwean African National Union), MNR bands were repeatedly sent into Mozambique to burn villages, plunder agricultural cooperatives and disrupt commerce. With the fall of the Rhodesian government in 1980, South African Military Intelligence (SAMI) transferred MNR headquarters and bases to the Transvaal, a northern province adjacent to Mozambique. Shortly thereafter, MNR President Dhlakama boasted to Portuguese journalists that the South African defense minister had made him a colonel and assured him that "your army is now a part of the South African Defense Force" (see *In These Times*, Nov. 24, 1982).

As early as 1980, a senior CIA official casually noted that the MNR was a South African puppet, saying, "We never thought they were getting support from anywhere else." A Western ambassador in Maputo recently called the MNR "a disparate group of gunslingers, thugs, white Portuguese opportunists and other assorted anti-FRELIMO types who lacked any vision for the future." And in Pretoria last month, the Conference of Catholic Bishops condemned the MNR for committing "horrific" atrocities and demanded that the South African government cease supporting the armed bandits.

Just as the Western press claims the Mozambican National Resistance is autonomous, it has falsely reported that South Africa initiated the peace process. Conversations with leading Mozambican officials including President Machel indicate that South Africa only begrudgingly and belatedly agreed to enter into the peace process proposed by Mozambique in 1982.

Several factors explain Mozambique's willingness to negotiate a non-aggression pact with South Africa, a regime whose racial and social policies were anathema to the revolutionary FRELIMO government. At a closed meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee, one of Machel's closest advisors reported that



Just as the Western press claims the MNR is autonomous, it has falsely reported that South Africa initiated the peace process with Mozambique.

Mozambique was unable to contain the South African-backed MNR offensive begun two years earlier with the tacit approval of the Reagan administration. MNR guerrillas were continuing their atrocities against unarmed peasants who demanded that the government protect them.

Faced with a deteriorating military situation, the leaders realized that the socialist countries were either unwilling or unable to provide the military assistance Mozambique had expected. Soviet weapons—with the exception of a handful of MIG-21s, MI-25 helicopter gunships and SAM 7s—were out of date and costly. Moreover, there was growing dissatisfaction with the quality of the conventional military training provided by Eastern-bloc advisors.

Campaign of strangulation.

South Africa's undeclared campaign of strangulation, together with the escalating MNR attacks, made a shambles of Mozambique's economy. Between 1975 and 1982 Mozambique lost \$3.2 billion because South Africa slashed the number of Mozambicans working in its gold mines from 120,000 to 45,000 and ceased its longstanding practice of remitting their wages to the Mozambican government in gold at a preferential rate. The young nation also lost \$250 million from South Africa's reduction in the level of commerce moving through the port of Maputo. A prolonged draught and serious state mismanagement in the agricultural and marketing sectors of the economy added to these woes.

A steep decline in the price of gold and the skyrocketing costs of petroleum in 1982 led Mozambican analysts to conclude that Pretoria might be receptive to peace overtures. Its balance of payment

deficit was then 900 million rand and its foreign debt 13 million rand. At the end of that year, Mozambican officials, dangling new markets and investment possibilities as an incentive to negotiate, suggested a non-aggression pact.

Initially, South Africa rejected the proposal, offering instead aid to revitalize the Mozambican economy in return for FRELIMO's expulsion of the African National Congress, a condition that was unacceptable. Only after a year-long campaign by Mozambique, aimed at convincing South Africa's NATO allies that it was not a pawn of the Soviet Union and that the interests of the West were not served by allowing Pretoria to transform southern Africa into a new zone of Cold War conflict, did the West put pressure on Pretoria to reconsider Machel's proposals.

A secret meeting of senior South African and Mozambican officials took place in Swaziland in December 1983. After difficult negotiations, which included a South African walkout after the Mozambican delegation denounced the long history of racist aggression. Pretoria finally accepted the idea of a non-aggression pact and a joint commission to implement it. On March 16, 1984, each side formally promised "not to allow its territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against the other state."

In retrospect, it is clear that hardline members of the South African military and security forces had no intention of living up to the agreement. Just before the March Nkomati agreement, South African intelligence stockpiled the MNR with enough military equipment to last for two years.

At the same time, according to Western diplomats, between 1,200 and 1,500

MNR soldiers and paratroopers were infiltrated into the area surrounding Maputo, the capitol, to create havoc and to increase South Africa's bargaining power in the post-Nkomati period.

Six months after the agreement was signed, Mozambican Vice Minister of Security Teodato Hunguana charged that South Africa was still sending hundreds of MNR troops into Mozambique and resupplying insurgents already fighting there. Another high-level Mozambican told *In These Times* that South African intelligence even used Portuguese import-export firms as a conduit to supply arms to the MNR.

Serious problems.

The immediate violations posed serious problems for Mozambique. Although the military situation had improved in the central part of the country, the MNR offensive continued in strategic Maputo province. For the first time, the insurgents entered into Cabo Delgado in the extreme north of Mozambique. This enabled the MNR to score a propaganda victory by claiming that it was now fighting in all 10 Mozambican provinces. In the face of this escalating hostility, the economic crisis worsened. There were serious food shortages throughout the southern half of the country where it is estimated that more than 100,000 Mozambicans died from the famine last year.

Pretoria, too, faced serious problems in the post-Nkomati period. Its failure to enforce the non-aggression pact created difficulties at home and undercut South Africa's credibility in the larger international community. In October, for example, the Conference of Catholic Bishops condemned the MNR for committing atrocities and demanded that the Botha government cease supporting them.

More important, powerful industrial and financial interests who had applauded the Nkomati agreement and saw increased trade and investment possibilities with Mozambique as a way to reverse South Africa's deteriorating economic situation (by 1983 the debt had shot up to 15 billion rand) criticized continued destabilization as counterproductive. Several large multinational corporations based in South Africa, most notably the Anglo-American Corporation that had begun negotiations with the Mozambican government to revitalize the once lucrative tourist industry as well as the port of Maputo, were informed that Mozambique would not sign any formal investment agreements until security problems had been resolved. Major South African trading firms, anxious once again to realize the 14 rand per ton savings by trading through Maputo rather than Durban, also demanded that their government stop supporting the MNR.

Moreover, recently discovered large deposits of natural gas in southern Mozambique could easily be consumed by energy-starved South African industry. Indeed, immediately after the Nkomati accord, South Africa and Mozambique had begun discussing the possibility of constructing a pipeline to South Africa. A stable government in Mozambique could also help South Africa by ensuring the uninterrupted flow of electricity from the large dam at Cabora Bassa that the MNR has regularly disrupted. In addition, it appears likely that Mozambique has oil, both in the far north and off the southern coast.

Pretoria's continued violation of the Nkomati agreement infuriates the Mozambican leadership. On September 27, Jacinto Veloso, the head of the Mozambican negotiating team, warned that continued bandit activity "could seriously endanger the Nkomati accord." Apparently, the South Africans took him at his word because negotiations began in Pretoria the following week. Although the meetings were tense, both sides made the necessary concessions. South Africa finally took responsibility for the MNR. It also seems to have dropped the MNR's insistence on a government of national unity, in which the insurgents would receive several minis-

Continued on page 15

By Diana Johnstone

BRUSSELS

ON BELGIUM'S NATIONAL holiday on July 21, there was no celebration in the small town of Andennes on the Meuse River. A black flag flew from the town hall.

Andennes lies in the center of Wallonia's depressed smokestack industrial heartland, and local officials and trade unionists were angrily protesting the Belgian government's failure to defend the town's only remaining viable industry, Pegard machine tools, from the Reagan administration's crusaders against Western technology transfer to the evil empire of the East.

For two years, Pegard had been waiting for official response to its application for a license to export a "Preciram 4" boring and milling machine to the Soviet Union. The machine, designed to machine tool steam turbine speed regulator axles, had been ready for months and was sitting in crates on the Antwerp docks while a Soviet freighter waited impatiently in the harbor. Pegard, equally impatient for the 102 million Belgian francs (about \$1.6 million) it would be paid by the Russians on delivery of the machine, was on the verge of bankruptcy as a result of the abnormal delay. The jobs of Pegard's 280 employees were in jeopardy.

Pegard had sold a similar machine to the Soviet Union in the last months of the Carter administration without any problems. But this time American military and civilian experts showed up at the plant, inspected the machine and the drawing boards, yet made no public report. In February, however, Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans announced that the Americans had shown him proof that Pegard's machine would be used to make Soviet SS-20 and SS-21 missiles.

Andennes' Socialist Mayor Claude Eerdeken called Tindemans a liar who was trying to frighten people into imagining that shipping the Pegard machine meant getting missiles back on their heads in return. He said it was no secret that Tindemans wanted to be the next secretary general of NATO and had to display his "servility" to the Americans to qualify for the job. Eerdeken said that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz had written to Tindemans warning that granting an export license to Pegard could compromise the U.S.' friendly agreement to a fabulous contract between China and the Belgian branch of Bell Telephone for export of optical fibers. Bell Telephone in Belgium is located in Tindemans' Antwerp constituency.

In July Eerdeken wrote an open letter to Tindemans accusing him of sacrificing Pegard "to the interests of Bell Telephone" and "to your ambition to become secretary general of NATO after Lord Carrington." Eerdeken demanded that Tindemans either prove his allegations about the Pegard machine or resign. So far Tindemans has done neither.

On July 23 the Belgian cabinet announced it was turning down the export application because the customer was not acceptable "to one of our principal allies." Economic Affairs Minister Mark Eyskens added that he and Tindemans would urge the U.S. Embassy to come through fast with its offer to find another buyer for the Pegard machine waiting on the Antwerp docks.

There was anger in Andennes. Pegard engineers said the machine had been adjusted to fit the requirements of COMCOM, the secretive Paris-based watchdog group guarding against the export of militarily sensitive technology from NATO countries and Japan to Communist nations.

To fit COMCOM regulations, Pegard had programmed the "Preciram 4" so it could only perform the civilian tasks specified by the Soviet client. This made it an ordinary piece of equipment that the Russians could easily obtain from any of about a dozen European competitors or make themselves. Pegard's technical director Constant Peten said he'd

BELGIUM

Pentagon balks at high-tech transfer

seen more sophisticated drills than his company's on display in the USSR. If the Russians chose the Preciram 4, it was because the price was right and because they were doing their part to equal out the Soviet-Belgian trade balance, heavily in favor of the USSR, as had been agreed at the governmental level.

If the deal fell through because of the American veto, only Pegard would be the loser. The Russians could easily buy elsewhere.

Belgians were sure of one thing: they were being bullied because Belgium is a small country, vulnerable to all kinds of pressure. Neither Germany nor France nor even Italy would put up with such meddling from Washington.

In July about 200 of Pegard's 280 employees burned their national identity cards in front of the Andennes town hall, where the black flag was still flying, after Eerdeken sent his to Tindemans,

dennes. What about the future? Wallonia, the French-speaking southern part of Belgium, once one of the most thriving regions in the heyday of the coal and steel industries, is turning into an economic wasteland. On the other hand, Dutch-speaking Flanders, which was largely passed by in the first industrialization, is doing better in attracting new high-tech industries. This feeds the perpetual antagonism between Walloons and Flemings. And much of the complaining in Andennes is readily deflected from the Americans, too powerful and far away to do much about, to the more familiar and accessible adversary, Flanders.

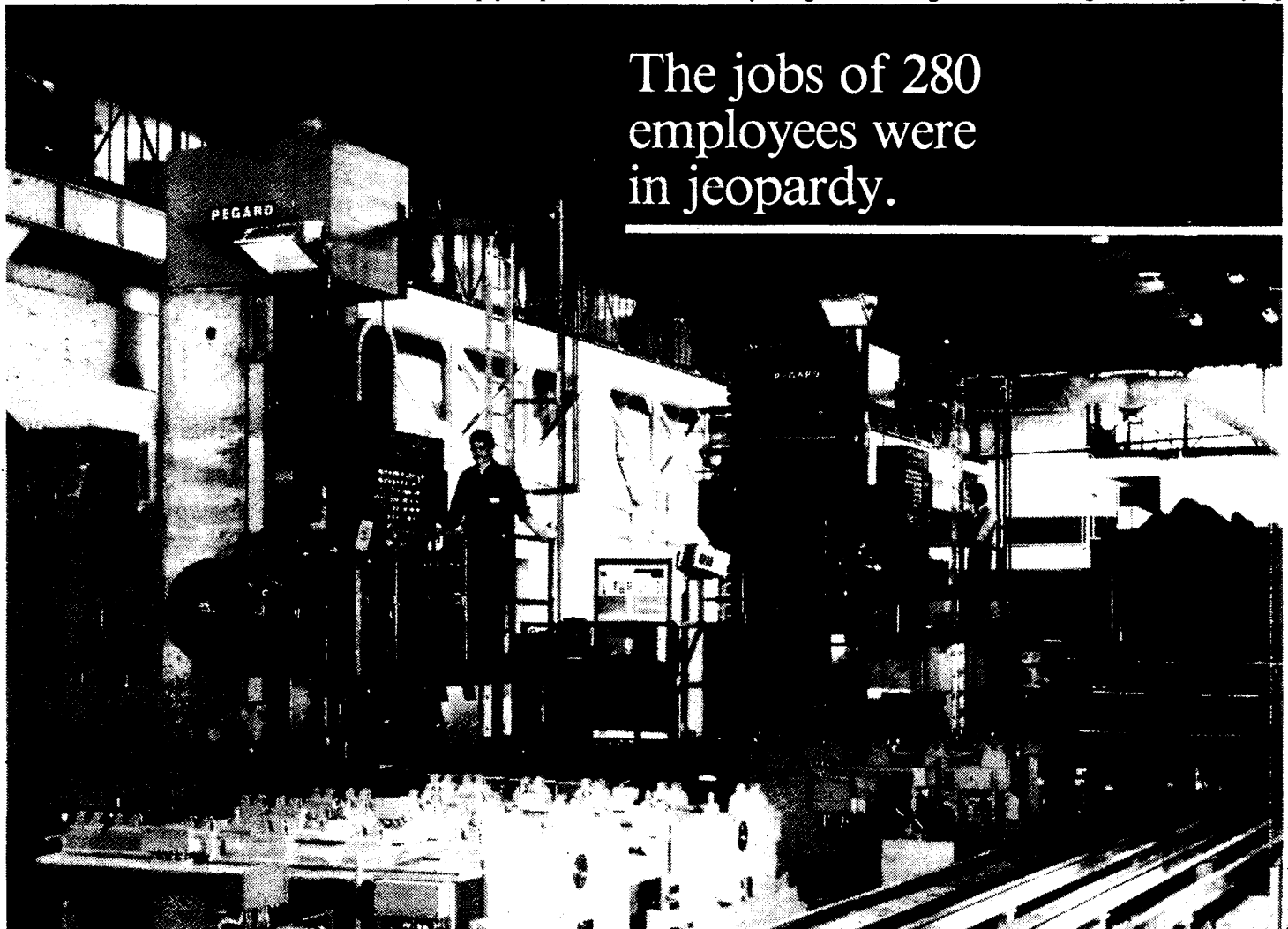
Across the road from Pegard is an empty paper factory that shut down last November. Now only two factories are left in this old industrial town. The other manufactures refractory material for the deeply depressed steel industry. Pegard

to help Pegard "restructure" for non-Communist markets.

But rumors don't pay debts, and Pegard was on the brink. Wallonia was bitter and angry, and elections are coming up next year. Christian Democratic Prime Minister Wilfried Martens and his cabinet had reason to start worrying about the Socialist opposition's campaign against their "servility" to Washington.

So suddenly in late September came a new surprise in the Pegard affair. The Belgian government announced it was granting the Andennes firm export permits for the five additional machines ordered by the Russians. This round went to Economic Affairs Minister Mark Eyskens.

The Pentagon reacted angrily. If "betrayed" by Brussels, it would not pay the promised 42 million Belgian francs (about \$15 million) for the Preciram 4. Eyskens flew to Washington to consult with Weinberger. American officials told Belgian correspondents that Belgian-American relations were at an all-time low. This public fight might save the Christian Democrats in next year's elections by allowing them to claim to have stood up spunkily to Uncle Sam's intolerable bullying. But the cabinet members continued to quarrel among themselves. There was a public row between Tindemans and Eyskens. There are signs that the Belgians are just trying



The jobs of 280 employees were in jeopardy.

saying he didn't want to carry the card of a country whose foreign minister constantly distorted the truth.

In the early days of August, there was much hustle and bustle behind the scenes as Belgian cabinet ministers moved behind each others' backs and tripped each other up to find a solution to the Pegard problem. Each seemed to want to claim credit for saving Pegard, thanks to his good contacts in Washington. The apparent winner of this round was Defense Minister Freddy Vreven, who worked out a deal with Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger.

On August 10, the Belgian daily *Le Soir* had a banner headline to announce the "incredible donouement to the Pegard affair": the Americans themselves were buying half the machine as a gift for the Belgian Army. The Belgian government would pay for the other half. Or to be more precise, the U.S. would pay 42 million Belgian francs, the Belgian government picking up the tab for the remaining 60 million. What would the Army do with a machine designed to machine tool turbine axles? The Pentagon was presenting it to the Belgian Army's Rocourt Arsenal—a way of proving that the machine was good for weapons manufacture.

This did not satisfy the people in An-

is the only "new" industry in Andennes. It has been doing exactly what all the economic wiseacres advise: manufacturing a technologically advanced product for export.

"Here the situation is criminal because we have a very elaborated, salable product," a Pegard unionist said. "It's a double murder: jobs and a good product." Pegard exports more than 80 percent of its production, good for the country's balance of payments. Its main customers are its Western European neighbors, especially West Germany. But since the economic slump in Germany, orders have fallen off. Here is where the Soviet-bloc market could come in handy to take up the slack. The Preciram 4 was the second sale to the USSR, but after that Pegard had applied for five more export permits for five more machines ordered by Soviet customers. After all this trouble over the Preciram 4, Pegard risked losing this foothold in the Eastern market. Besides, the delay had caused the company serious cash flow problems, and bankruptcy was looming.

Rumors were floated that Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger were going to reward their obedient Belgian ally by getting their mother company, Bechtel,

to get a better deal from the Americans by threatening to export five more machines to the Russians.

The Pegard story is not over yet, but some conclusions can be drawn. In Belgium, as in all the advanced countries, people are being told that to survive they must get into the business of producing high technology for the world market. Some of the negative political implications of this situation show up in the Pegard case.

First, these new technologies have a very high potential for being "militarily sensitive," but this potential is hard or impossible for the public to evaluate. Much technology has been linked from the start to developments in the weapons field. The producers, capitalists or labor, often don't care about what they are producing so long as they can sell it for profit and wages to whoever wants it.

The public cannot directly judge the military usefulness of something like Preciram 4. Experts supposedly can, but they often contradict each other. Since there is no existing method for genuinely democratic control, control comes from the top. Thus the men from Bechtel who are running the U.S. government have extraordinary power to promote their interests in new world trade patterns over those of, say, the people of Andennes. ■

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

BETRAYAL

IN THESE TIMES HAS BETRAYED ITS own cause. In a full-page advertisement, "We're the Tobacco Industry, Too" (ITT, Oct. 17), the Labor/Management Committee of the Tobacco Industry attempted to justify its existence.

There are several offensive statements in the ad. First: "Everyone knows there is a controversy over smoking." Wrong. There is no controversy. Cigarette smoking directly causes lung cancer and emphysema and contributes to heart disease, atherosclerosis and many other diseases. The tobacco industry tries to dispute the facts, but it can't be done. Cigarette smoking is the leading preventable cause of morbidity and mortality in the U.S.

Second: the ad tries to elicit sympathy by stating that the tobacco industry creates jobs. Nobody can dispute that statement, but I don't believe we can rationalize the continued production of a harmful product on that basis. If it were so, we could justify the production of millions of nuclear arms on the basis of the jobs it would create.

Third: a tear-jerking phrase about how the tobacco industry makes the difference between "poverty and dignity" for many. I would not want the suffering and deaths of so many on my conscience, no matter what the monetary benefits. It is disappointing that a newspaper dedicated to a popular movement for socialism should succumb to capitalistic pressures.

—Kerri Hesley
Galveston, Texas

AND OUR MOTHERS WERE MENSHEVIKS

JAMES WEINSTEIN'S STATEMENTS concerning the Julius and Ethel Rosenberg case should have prepared me for the depths to which the editorial policies of *In These Times* have sunk, yet I was unprepared for the cynical manipulative advertisement (ITT, Oct. 17). No amount of money should have been

enough for you to allow your pages to be used by the corporate owners of the tobacco industry in such a misleading and reprehensible manner.

At the risk of restating obvious facts. There is no "controversy over smoking." All scientists not in the employ of the tobacco industry are in agreement that smoking causes lung and other cancers, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, heart disease and a variety of other ailments. To imply a controversy on this issue and place the question of job security against the public's health is appalling.

The next week I expect you will secure major financing from the Reagan administration for a similar advertisement for the MX missile or chemical warfare toxins. I believe you owe your readers an explanation and apology.

—Peter Orris
Chicago

GAS OVENS

THAT AD YOU ACCEPTED FROM THE American Tobacco Company seems to make nonsmokers guilty of trying to put a lot of poor, hard-working folks out of a job. Well, those who placed it are, in my estimation, mass murderers who have killed millions over the years. I see no real difference between those workers in the tobacco industry and those "innocent" people who tended Hitler's gas ovens at Auschwitz and Buchenwald. These companies are in the death business and those who work for them are willing accomplices.

And by accepting their advertising, ITT is accepting blood money. Suggest you review the 1983 statistics on lung and cervical cancer for women, since they've "come a long way." Humphrey Bogart, Nat Cole, John Wayne, Steve McQueen—all dead from cigarette smoke, murdered, and the killers are still free.

Why no wrongful death suits against American Tobacco and R.J. Reynolds?

—Jay Kennedy
Albany, Calif.

LESS APPEALING

EXACTLY WHAT ORGANIZATION IS IT that bought the full-page ads (ITT, Oct. 17, 31) and how much did they pay you for them?

Can we expect ads from other big job-producers such as the nice nuclear power people, who undoubtedly have a company union around somewhere that they could put in front of a camera? Or how about the Army, which does such a great job hiring all those minority kids and unemployed? They could even beat the progressive record of the Tobacco industry, with their history of anti-Nazi work and all.

So how about it, you Independent Socialist Newspaper folks? Does this mean I won't need to respond to any more appeals for funds? I still would hate to see you fold, but not as much as before you ran that thing.

—Robert Roth, M.D.
Onawa, Iowa

Editor's note: The Tobacco Industry Labor/Management Committee paid for the ads. It is financed by the Tobacco Institute, which is financed by the tobacco companies. They paid \$990 for each of two ads. We netted \$1,683 after the agency commission. I hope we can expect other big company ads. If we get lots of them we won't have to ask our readers to make up our expected operating deficit of \$190,000 next year (down from \$218,000 this year and \$300,000 last year). Of course, if our readers would send us enough money in addition to their subscription cost, or if we could quickly get 10,000 new subscribers, we wouldn't have to take ads from industries that produce unhealthy products.

We can't imagine a single reader starting to smoke, or deciding not to stop because of the Tobacco Workers' ad. But we do think the ad raises an issue that is equally important when we oppose the MX and the arms race in general. That issue is conversion to socially useful work for the people employed in such industries.

POST-ELECTION ADVICE

AFTER HIS POOR PERFORMANCE during the recent debates, Ronald Reagan needs to boost his "macho" image. What he can do to rally patriotic Americans is to invade that tiny country of Haiti and liberate its poverty-stricken people suffering under a brutal dictatorship. No elections there! But oops! He cannot do this. In Haiti there are presently about 60 American corporations, reaping huge profits because of semi-slave labor, but no labor unions, no minimum wage laws, no safety requirements for workers—a paradise for big

business! And most of these corporations relocated to Haiti leaving behind thousands of unemployed Americans, increasing the numbers of families living in poverty in this, the richest country in the world. There is no "threat to national security" there.

—Abe Morochnick
Chelsea, Mass.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

NEIL MILLER'S ARTICLE "COMING OF AGE in the '80s" (ITT, Oct. 17) is typical media mythmaking or cocktail party pontification. He should go out and talk with some of the many groups of teenagers who do not fit the conformist specifications he outlines.

What about the encouragingly great number of young men who refuse to register for the draft? What about the very substantial number of young women who are joining and working in peacemaking initiatives? What about the tremendous interest now in periodicals and books that propose and discuss alternative ways of life? What about the rise of liberation theology of a liberal and even radical nature in many denominations?

Dissatisfaction with the status quo and thrusts toward a different future take a great many different forms over the years. Let's look at the present situation's positive and constructive efforts a little more often. They should be encouraged.

—Alfred McClung Lee
Madison, N.J.

HEADS UP

NEIL MILLER'S "COMING OF AGE in the '80s" (ITT, Oct. 17) was basically sound and sensitive. But he ignored one critical difference between the experience of Vietnam-era students and Reagan-era students.

Put simply, Vietnam-era students graduated into a prosperous economy in which a college degree in any field nearly guaranteed a good job. Reagan-era students are graduating into a stagnant economy in which most college degrees have little value. The current generation is more career-conscious than its predecessor as a matter of necessity.

News accounts of the prosperity and cynical materialism of young Harvard MBAs obscure this fact. A segment of today's graduates are welcomed into high-paying jobs. Ivy League graduates in fields such as business, law and engineering have no financial worries. But reality for the majority is different.

Examples of that abound in most fields. Now, as always, there is a sharp line separating winners from losers in our economy. But in the '60s, college graduates were nearly automatically on the right side of the line, so it was possible for them to be idealistic and non-conformist. In the '80s, most graduates are on the wrong side of the line. Of necessity, they are forced to extreme concern about their careers.

Vietnam-era leaders like Abbie Hoffman should consider this before making callously insensitive remarks about the morals of contemporary youth. This generation is no less idealistic than the prior one, it just has far less freedom to devote its energy to anything beyond survival.

—Richard H. Gibson
San Francisco

CORRECTIONS

Additional information on the two films reviewed in *In These Times*, Oct. 10, is as follows: the film *A Time of Daring*, Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave. South, #1319, New York, NY 10003. The film *Guazapa*, Northstar Productions, 3003 O Street, NW, Washington, DC 20007.

In David Ost's piece on Poland in the same issue (ITT, Oct. 10), the headline read: "Business as usual now in Poland." It should have said: "Business as unusual now in Poland." We apologize for the confusion.

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ASTA

By E. P. Thompson

DIALOG

*Diana Johnstone
has END wrong*

MAY 1, LATE IN THE day, because of transatlantic post, express my dismay at Diana Johnstone's report on the Perugia Peace Convention, "Is the European peace movement a dead END?" (ITT, Aug. 22). The dismay is the greater since European peace activists regard *In These Times* as a friend and have benefited from Diana Johnstone's writings in the past.

On this occasion she has not done her homework and has got a lot of things wrong. She is right to draw attention to the resurgence of West European nationalisms—sometimes in an "anti-American" Euro-Gaullist form—that are now touting the Western European Union (WEU) as the possible nucleus for a third nuclear-armed bloc, a mini-superpower.

Most of us have sympathy for the points made by Roland Vogt, of the West German Greens, at his Perugia workshop, but it is altogether wrong to present him as a lonely voice, opposed to the European peace movement's other con-

Her report on the Perugia meeting last summer left an impression of greater differences than actually exist between the West German Greens and the rest of us.

cerns. (In fact, Vogt distinguished himself at the Berlin Convention last year by sallying out with Petra Kelly on a peace mission into East Berlin that some other delegates thought was provocative!)

The attempt to exhume the long-buried corpse of the WEU is being watched—and contested—by all major West European movements. It is the theme of an *END Journal* article by Mike Gapes, "European Defense—enhanced security or a new arms race?" (June-July 1984), and has been the subject of sharp attention in recent writings by Mient-Jan Faber and Mary Kaldor—who Johnstone sets up as supposed opponents to the views of Vogt. This is not wholly honest, since in a statement to which Johnstone objects, Faber and Kaldor also explicitly state: "We do not wish to substitute a British and French or even a West German occupation for occupation by the superpowers."

We will continue to watch the WEU, although there are some reasons to suppose that this ugly disinterment will never walk. Those who have watched the savage in-fighting within the European Economic Community (EEC) will know that faction-fighting in the WEU will be protracted for years. Margaret Thatcher and her ministers remain deeply suspicious—ironically, because of their deeply-Atlanticist posture: they prefer to be second fiddle to the U.S. in NATO to being third fiddle to Germano-Gaullism. The publics of the nations fringing West Germany—West as well as East—are not standing up to applaud the notion of a revived West German militarism.

Unfriendly attitude.

Important questions, certainly for peace activists on both sides of the Atlantic. But what turned me off was the lack of friendly understanding in Johnstone's report. In smart journalese, Faber and Kaldor are sniggered at as "two movement stars." Readers are not told that Mient-Jan Faber is the secretary of the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (IKV), which

is the most influential of the Dutch peace movements that together have secured a victory in postponing deployment of cruise missiles. Nor are they told that Kaldor is the editor of the *European Nu-*

clear Disarmament (END) Journal, which has, over two years, established itself as one of the most thoughtful and best-informed organs of the peace movement anywhere—a journal Johnstone



might read with more care.

There are other examples—the suggestion that French CODENE "is almost invisible in the battle against French or other nuclear arsenals" is grossly unfair. I am described as being the proponent of the view that Western peace movements should take up issues of "human rights" in the East as an opportunist ploy to "improve their credibility at home," prove that we are not "Moscow's stooges" and gain "favorable media coverage." I can assure Johnstone that I have never written or said anything of the sort, and that I have not noticed any "favorable media coverage." Since I have been identified with causes that for 40 years have not drawn media favor—opposition to wars in Korea, Kenya, Cyprus, Vietnam and the Falklands—such opportunism is not likely to influence me.

Perugia confusion.

I also found the Perugia Convention confusing and found some delegates over-excited about East-West relations. But Johnstone misreports the positions of major peace movements on the problem of Europe. While the American and West European movements are allies—and, I hope, try to understand each others' positions—this does not mean that we face identical problems or have to follow an identical strategy. Americans confront their superpower-opposite; they must feel it to be their first duty to restrain their own military, both in its prodigious arms procurement and in its adventures in Central America and the Middle East. We share these concerns and we support you without reserve.

Europeans, however, occupy a different political space. Cruise, Pershing and also SS-21s on our soil are symbols of the superpowers' hegemony over client states. There is a powerful public in East Europe trying to edge away from Soviet hegemony, just as West European nations are seeking to edge away from that of the U.S. The peace movement is looking—not, of course, to a West European military bloc (WEU)—but to a possible healing process, East and West, between the blocs: not to "rolling back" the frontiers

Continued on following page

Point slid past Thompson

By Diana Johnstone

APPARENTLY THE PROVOCATIVE expression "dead END" really upset some people in British END, and E.P. Thompson wants to assure everyone that END, and in particular the *END Journal*, are still alive. Fine and good.

The provocation was meant to provoke critical reflection, not anger. It seems to have missed its mark. Thompson rushes to the defense of leaders (himself, Kaldor, Faber) instead of addressing the issues I tried to raise. It doesn't seem to me that the leaders in question require such vigorous defense—certainly not from what I said about them. Does calling people "movement stars" imply "sniggering"? Perhaps from the vantage point of certain movement stars, it does; I wouldn't know.

But Thompson caricatures what I said. For example, here is what I actually wrote about him: "E.P. Thompson in particular got END into the business of 'contacts' and 'dialog' with Eastern European peace movements on the basis of an undeniably accurate political observation: the Eastern European human rights situation is a serious problem to Western European peace movements because it provides the best reason for Western Europeans to fear Soviet mili-

tary power and thus accept military buildup in their own countries." What is so "unfriendly" about that? Thompson may not like my journalistic summaries, but there is no accusation of "opportunism" in what I wrote. That was not what I was driving at.

Perhaps not having grasped my point, Thompson trots out arguments left over from some other polemic, such as the one about "saying 'ditto' to every agenda proposed by state-endorsed officials from the East and, in effect, becoming auxiliaries of Soviet diplomacy." This is totally irrelevant to my objections, but after more than 30 years of Cold War, maybe the arguments all begin to run together.

My intention.

The question I meant to raise was essentially one of timing. The 1983 Berlin conference was primarily devoted to East-West problems and that was fine: The people who came—and the program—were prepared for it. I believe it helped advance awareness of the East-West dimension.

Perugia was supposed to be more about the North-South dimension. In its article "Signposts to Perugia," the *END Journal* noted that "the problems and tensions in Europe pale into insignificance when one considers the possible threats to world peace that are contained within the Mediterranean area." Instead, the East-West problem again

overshadowed the rest. This happened in part because, despite the presence of some specialized panels on North-South problems and the Mediterranean, the movement's most prestigious leaders, those who command large audiences whenever they say something, again focused their attention on the East-West dimension.

This was a serious missed opportunity. The North-South dimension is *not* thoroughly understood throughout the peace movement. It would have been important to raise awareness of the North-South aspect of the Western European Union, the world role of the projected European nuclear superpower.

Concentration on the East-West problem would have been justified by some new breakthrough. But my impression was that old arguments tended to be rehearsed with increasing heat and little new light. The dialog with official Eastern European peace council representatives lacked focus and caused more division and distrust within the Western peace movement than it seemed to be worth. The unofficials couldn't come. My suggestion was that it would make more sense in the future to try to structure East-West contacts around specific problems, such as industrial conversion.

In his heated polemic against Norman Solomon in *The Nation* (April 16, 1983), E.P. Thompson wrote: "My argument

Continued on following page

E.P.

Continued from preceding page

of Yalta but to throwing those frontiers open to greater flow of citizens and ideas. If European nations could become more non-aligned—as Sweden, Yugoslavia and Austria already are and as Greece is becoming—we hope this will help to mediate the bloc confrontation, will help the Third World and peace forces in the U.S. and USSR also. We would like the support of the American peace movement in this work.

Nowhere at any time have any of us proposed a strategy of "linkage" or, as Johnstone suggests, making the Western movement's demands dependent "on human rights liberalization in the East." On the contrary, certain Western movements, including the British and Dutch—and END—remain resolutely "unilateralist" in opposition to the nuclear forces in our own countries. Yes, we welcome such liberalization and insist upon certain rights. Certainly we hope that this healing process will improve opportunities for democratization and social changes on both sides, but as a part of the peace process, not as a precondition.

The business of opening up direct East-West citizen relations is extraordinarily complex. Of course it is, after more than 30 years of Cold War. It can't be resolved by Western peace movements saying

"ditto" to every agenda proposed by state-endorsed officials from the East and in effect becoming auxiliaries of Soviet diplomacy. We require a plural discourse, in which we must listen to many other voices, including those of Polish KOS and Czech Charter 77, as well as individual voices such as George Konrad of Hungary in his important *Antipolitics*. Of course, our analysis and strategy are not perfect; we are improvising these as we go along; but they are not as immature as Johnstone suggests.

E.P. Thompson is the founder and head of Britain's *European Nuclear Disarmament (END)*.

Diana

Continued from preceding page

is that there is unlikely to be any permanent disarmament—or any disarmament at all—unless there is a reciprocal thaw in both blocs, an opening of direct communication and exchange between citizens, and that renewed repression in the East, in particular of independent peace voices, will weaken Western peace movements and could—if they do not take precautions—paint them into an ineffectual "pro-Soviet" corner." This did seem to me to imply a certain "linkage," which, moreover, no doubt exists.

E.P. Thompson has a style of argument that seems to demand outright op-

positions even when there are none. Thus when I contrasted a point made by Kaldor and Faber with a point made by Vogt, Thompson sees me "setting them up as opponents." Indeed, they all agree in opposing *all* nuclear armaments, but there was a distinct contrast in emphasis in their presentations, with Kaldor and Faber stressing Europe's "occupation by superpowers" and Vogt stressing that the peace movement could unwittingly contribute to the ideological basis for a European nuclear superpower.

Without being considered "an auxiliary of Soviet diplomacy," is it possible to suggest that the "ineffectual pro-Soviet corner" is not the only one the peace movement could paint itself into?

E.P. Thompson's view is from England. Mine is from France. Both our perceptions are inevitably influenced, perhaps distorted, by our respective vantage points. From where I stand, I would not want to have to count on Margaret Thatcher's famous intransigence to scuttle the WEU. On the contrary, it could even spur development of the strong Paris-Bonn axis that is the heart of the European nuclear superpower project. Even a faction-ridden WEU may give a disastrous impetus to worldwide nuclear proliferation.

The French movement.

What I said about CODENE is, alas, all too obviously true when you live in Paris. Considering the adverse factors in France, this failure cannot be all blamed on CODENE itself. Nor should CODENE be exempted from criticism out of sympathy for its underdog position. The weakness of the independent French peace movement is a serious problem for the European movement as a whole.

The weak independent French peace movement is now confronted with a new and serious political problem: the French Communist Party has gone into opposition and is thus going to bring its own peace movement out of hibernation.

It would have been important for the independent movement to have develop-

ed a clear, thorough position on the WEU before the PCF raises the issue in its own characteristic fashion, very likely playing on anti-German sentiments. I foresee a situation that may only deepen the existing incomprehension between most of the left in France and the German peace movement. Giving priority to criticism of the Soviet bloc has not enabled CODENE to build a movement able to compete with the PCF, despite the mounting anti-Communism in France. Competing with the PCF is likely to appear its only *raison d'être*. This will further weaken its ability to do so successfully. A credible French peace movement must rise above the endless feuds within the French left.

Anti-superpower outrage has its limitations, as I try to suggest in a book to appear shortly. Western Europe is not historically, nor even currently, blameless for the present mess, and I think that recognizing and stressing one's own responsibilities strengthens rather than weakens the movement. I admired the radically self-critical approach of Vogt's presentation, which also pointed to the roots of European over-armament in the supposed need to maintain control of the Third World. He and the Greens propose alternative energy policies to end dependence on Third World resources. I believe that it is in a radically new approach to North-South relations that a way out of the East-West deadlock can best be sought.

Especially if Reagan is re-elected, continued U.S. pursuit of conflicts and policies opposed to European interests and perceptions is bound to push Western Europe into a greater degree of nonalignment. The real question is, what form will this less aligned Western Europe take? Although none of the European peace movements want a European nuclear superpower, I fear that is what they may get if they do not put more of their effort into stopping it. If I am wrong, so much the better.

With friendly best wishes to END and the *END Journal*.

THE DAY THE FAIRIES WENT ON STRIKE

by Linda Briskin and Maureen FitzGerald

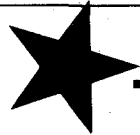


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Invasion

Continued from page 3

stration will be looking at targets of opportunity."

But Joe Eldridge, director of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), thinks that the Joint Chiefs of Staff would balk at an invasion unless they thought it had popular support. Thus "the Reagan administration has to do a lot of groundwork." The recent Grenada celebration may be part of that. But the administration is split between hard-liners, such as UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, CIA Director William Casey, Pentagon Political Secretary Nestor Sanchez and Constantin Menges of the National Security Council, and some of Reagan's top staff people, Eldridge says.

Retired Lt. Col. Ed King, a military and foreign affairs consultant, says that he doesn't think there is any plan in the near term for an invasion "in the classic sense," with large numbers of troops. The Honduran bases would have to be expanded, and there would have to be significant mobilization of troops, movement of ships and other activity, he said. And a Grenada-style quick hit isn't possible, he said. Despite all the propaganda, Grenada was a "military disaster," with U.S. troops having difficulty up against "200 45-year-old Cubans and a steel band. If the 45-year-olds can stand them off, what are 17-year-olds going to do?"

Also, with Vietnam still haunting them, military chiefs would want to have full preparations for war. "They're not going anywhere again unless they've got a full hand to play with," King said. A full hand would include at least two divisions—a total of 32,000 troops—and roughly 60,000 back-up forces, not easy to move without notice.

Airborne troops could seize the cities quickly, King said, "but how would you

sustain it? What would you occupy?" Sandinistas would immediately revert to guerrilla war. "Do you go into the hills and start sending back 350 body bags to New Orleans each week?" The volunteer army would dry up, and a draft would be needed. "Sudden invasion is not a likely prospect," King argued. But if the military does not want to fight a partial war, the CIA is quite happy with an escalation to some "danger point" short of full-scale invasion. Thus, military action by the U.S. alongside *contras* or other Central American troops remains possible.

Most analysts, like Stephen D. Goose, a senior research analyst at the Center for Defense Information, believe the U.S. will need to create an excuse for an invasion or lesser military action—a Nicaraguan equivalent of the fabricated Gulf of Tonkin incident in Vietnam. It could be the shooting of U.S. spy planes or helicopters near the border. Or it could be a naval incident while the U.S. trains Honduran ships in the Gulf of Fonseca in interdiction of Nicaraguan ships.

A crisis certainly will be precipitated whenever the Nicaraguans accept Soviet MIGs, now reportedly waiting shipment from Cuba. As a result of military threats, "the Sandinistas are being pressured to get Soviet MIGs to protect themselves against Honduras, which has the most modern air force in Central America," Birns said. "Once those MIGs are delivered, it will be a dangerous moment, because the U.S. will define them as an offensive capacity." King is even more blunt about how the U.S. will respond: "If the MIGs are brought in, the MIGs will be destroyed," probably by air attacks.

Having spoken often with Nicaraguan leaders, King knows how convinced they are that a classic invasion is imminent. "I've told them that would mean there are a bunch of insane people up here to do that," he said. "And they believe we have insane people."

—David Moberg

By Andrew Collier

IN A DRAMATIC GESTURE, workers from the closed Houston Works of Armco, Inc., signed a 10-foot long steel petition trucked to Washington last spring to galvanize support for import protection for the American steel industry. Their flamboyant action was one of many designed to convince the American public that the decline of the nation's steel industry could be blamed on foreign imports, but the unemployed steelworkers and the steel firms failed to get Congress to pass the Fair Trade in Steel Act.

A key part of the union-industry strategy is the claim that imported steel was frequently subsidized by foreign governments and was therefore unfairly traded. "Over the past 15 years, foreign governments have provided \$40 to \$50 billion of subsidies to their steel industries," the American industry's lobbying group, the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI), saw in response to a congressional study. "Foreign governments have permitted inefficient and unprofitable firms abroad to expand steel production and upgrade existing facilities, while sustaining massive losses, thus contributing to the present overhang on the market of at least 200 million tons of excess capacity outside the U.S.," AISI concluded. Only the U.S. industry has a free-market in steel, they said.

The subsidies issue has been thrown up by the big American steelmakers as a cloud behind which they have pressed for protectionist action while they hid their own inefficiencies. The issue has also allowed them to tout the advantages of a free market in steel, even though it has not existed in this country for years, if ever, and which internationally has been more free for some countries than for others.

The issue of protection for the steel industry was spotlighted by a recent Reagan decision. In January, Bethlehem Steel Corp and the United Steel Workers filed for import protection under Section 201 of our trade laws, better known as "the escape clause." The "escape clause" allows an industry where imports are "a substantial cause of serious injury" to receive import protection, ostensibly to give the industry time to modernize or restructure. Only if imports are a more important cause of an industry's decline than any other can protection be granted. This in part explains the steel industry's eagerness to blame their troubles on foreign subsidies.

Protection under the "escape clause" was granted October 18 by President Reagan, although its extent will not be decided until negotiations are concluded between the U.S. and steel exporters—particularly the newly industrialized countries like Brazil and Korea—on so-called "voluntary restraints." There have been hints from industry insiders that Reagan made a promise to the chairman of several steel companies to curb imports sharply.

What is the cause?

How accurate is the industry's position that their troubles have been caused by imports? Some 45 percent of world steel production is state-owned, according to the Office of Technology Assessment, an arm of Congress. But not all state-owned steel production is subsidized, nor is it necessarily the cause of the American industry's decline.

Paula Stern, a former Brookings Institute scholar and current chairperson of the ITC, was one of the two dissenting votes on the Section 201 case. In explaining her negative vote, she cited a list of industry problems, only one of which was imports. These included a decline in demand and the growing use of aluminum and plastic; a non-competitive cost structure exacerbated by escalating wage rates; a reliance on expensive raw materials; competition from new low-cost mini-mills that use scrap steel instead of iron; environmental costs; an over-valued dollar; and, last, imports. She agreed that "this industry has had more than its share

of problems with unfair imports. But the industry has successfully obtained the appropriate available relief [subsidy and dumping cases]." She concluded that "if import relief is the sole focus for solving the steel industry's problems, this industry and nation are marching down the road to obsolescence."

Her word is not the last on the issue, but her statement suggests that the industry is spending more time convincing the public of the need for protection than it is on fighting to improve its competitive position in an increasingly global market.

One of the main arguments used by the industry in its battle for protection is that it is operating in one of the few free markets in the world. The industry's reasoning was summed up by David Roderick, chairman of U.S. Steel, in hearings before Congress. Roderick said, "Despite heavy losses year after year by these government-sponsored steel industries, the market system has not been allowed to work its will" and drive these firms out of business. The U.S. industry, therefore, needs protection from "unfairly traded" steel. This argument doesn't hold water. For one thing, the American steel industry has had protection to one degree or another for years. In addition, the assumptions of free-trade are not always applicable to developing countries.

"We're not operating in a neo-classical world, if we ever were," said Michael Borrus, deputy director of the Berkeley Round Table on International Economics, in an interview. Free trade in neo-classical terms assumes that every country has a fixed supply of capital and labor, and that technology is freely available. But many developing countries are dependent on advanced countries for technology, and are not content with the little capital they have. Without foreign resources, these countries must rely on cheap labor and raw materials as their comparative advantage. This is not to say there is no money to be made using low-cost labor and local raw materials. The

PERSPECTIVES

Steel industry's cries of 'foul play' ignore basic realities

big money, however, lies in industrial goods that require large amounts of capital and advanced technology. Steel, particularly steel made of unusual alloys, is one such good. Developing countries sometimes require state intervention to get their industries going. The new steel producers are overcoming disadvantages in capital and technology they faced in the past, and have just begun to establish themselves in the world steel trade.

Peter Evans, a Brown University sociologist points out in his book *Dependent Development* that Brazil, which now ranks sixth in total imports into the U.S., had the choice of asking the multinationals for technology and capital or allowing the state to step in with funds.

During World War II, when many of Brazil's large steel mills were constructed,

American steel firms have had import protection since the mid-'60s. It's done no good.

the government went hat-in-hand to the U.S. seeking capital to invest in steel mills. No backers were found. Thus, state-supported steel firms were born out of necessity, at a time when much of the steel produced by Europe and the U.S. was being absorbed by the war. Neo-classical trade theory would have had Brazil sit back and hope that the market would eventually make capital available for the advanced countries for steel projects. In the meantime, all the advantages of having a domestic steel industry—employment, availability of a good important to other industries, and the creation of new markets—would have been lost. Brazil's steel industry has since assumed even

greater significance because it helps to earn foreign exchange to pay back the country's huge debt to foreign banks. The South Korean government, to give another example of state-supported industry, stepped in during the '50s and '60s with preferential tax, export and credit advantages to companies producing goods important to the overall economy. These included finance, transport, electricity—and manufacturing enterprises like steel.

The illusion of free trade.

While free trade in the traditional view has not existed internationally, it has been an illusion in the U.S. steel industry. American steel firms have had import protection since the mid-'60s. One major form of protection, the Trigger Pricing Mechanism of 1978, was estimated by the Federal Trade Commission to have a potential cost to the American consumer of \$1 billion annually in higher steel prices. The recent 201 decision by the ITC, before it was changed in the hands of the Reagan administration, would have cost the consumer \$4.3 to \$5.9 billion for each of the five years the quotas would have been in effect, according to the Congressional Budget Office. Michael Borrus suggested that "the industry itself has been protected since the early '60s. That has neither preserved jobs among workers, nor has it modernized facilities among the integrated [largest] producers."

The big producers have threatened to file countervailing duty and anti-dumping cases against foreign producers if Reagan's promises are not kept. Although this route is somewhat more justifiable than overall trade restraints, its ultimate effect will be to scare foreign producers into lowering exports here to avoid costly court battles and bad publicity. This happened with Mexico earlier this year.

In any case, unless the industry is eventually able to negotiate restraints greater than those in place, it will have to restructure. This is not necessarily bad. Japan has been steadily increasing production of the higher value-added products such as stainless and tool steel. This move is not much different from Brazil trying to make steel out of the iron ore it formerly exported. Neo-classical economists would applaud a restructuring of the American steel industry as a result of the entry of cheaper foreign steel. But this would create massive dislocation among workers. One solution is to allocate capital to those producers willing to change their product line, modernize equipment and thus draw workers to those firms. Some firms have chosen instead to diversify into non-steel areas.

This kind of government involvement would be "dangerously close" to a subsidy. Many European countries have heavy state involvement in their steel industries. Unlike the U.S. industry, the Europeans' goals often include maintaining employment as much as profit. Tough times in the world steel market have forced them to start to restructure in a cartel-like agreement designed to exclude the new producing countries. This restructuring, despite government attempts to smooth the waters, is meeting resistance from workers worried about losing jobs. Nevertheless, the European efforts appear to involve more retraining than has been considered in the U.S. Government involvement in steel should include retraining workers forced out of jobs and investment for modernization. ■

Andrew Collier works for a metal industry publication.

How World Steel Output Has Shifted

World's leading steel producers ranked by 1983 output of raw steel in thousands of net tons

Country	1983 Production (000 tons)	1973 Production (000 tons)	Percentage Change
Soviet Union	187,550	144,933	+ 16
Japan	107,100	129,128	- 17
United States	84,015	150,799	- 44
China	44,015	27,558	+ 60
West Germany	39,384	54,557	- 28
Italy	23,801	23,148	+ 3
France	19,414	27,855	- 30
Poland	16,078	15,496	+ 17
Czechoslovakia	16,648	14,504	+ 15
Britain	16,627	29,459	- 44
Brazil	16,159	7,882	+ 105
Rumania	14,881	6,936	+ 65
Belgium-Luxembourg	14,825	23,640	- 37
Spain	14,033	11,905	+ 18
Canada	14,030	14,756	- 5
South Korea	13,134	1,276	+ 920

Source: American Iron and Steel Institute

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Nixon as 'everyman'

By Pat Aufderheide

A mere decade later, even many of us who lived through Watergate are hard put to say exactly what it was about. Could a few dirty tricks—tricks that wouldn't even smudge the reputation of some of our present leaders—have triggered all that scandal?

Secret Honor is a film that brings Watergate back—not the headlines, not the history, but the culture that could make that bit of history happen. It is that rarity on screen, serious entertainment. Not message-mongering, not guilt-on-sleeve melodrama, not a color-the-good-and-bad-guys-by-number movie.

In an engrossing evening, it takes you inside the soul of one of America's most public men—Richard Nixon. Oh, it's fiction, as the opening title desperately reminds all those who may be litigiously minded. But it goes deeper than *Deep Throat*.

The film, directed and produced by Robert Altman and adapted from a stage play by Donald Freed and Arnold M. Stone, is a one-man show in one room. If the phrase *tour de force* never comes to mind while you're watching Philip Baker Hall play out Nixon's tortured soliloquies, it's only because you're too hypnotized to notice.

It's not just that Hall has Nixon's tics and mannerisms down, as he fiddles with his index finger, stutters in uncompleted sentences, veers from purple-mountains-majesties rhetoric to whimpering self-pity to vindictive indictments of enemies and erstwhile friends.

It's that he builds a character in whom those gestures and habits are the symptoms and symbols of a man for our time. Nixon, this film argues, is our Hamlet. However grotesque, he cannot be dismissed.

Our evening with Richard Nixon is an evening of—what else?—self-justification. Nixon, speaking into a tape recorder that he can't quite get to work right, is building his legal case for an invisible judge—the American public—and about an amorphous crime—that of being Richard Nixon.

As he toys with a prominently displayed revolver, adjusts four TV monitors, paces and ponders family photos and portraits of other presidents, it becomes clear that Watergate was about something more serious than a little inter-political-party burglary. It was about the quality of political life, that is, the way that we manage our shared resources in society. Its health and vigor was tested and found wanting in the anxiety-ridden, desperately needy character of Nixon.

Nixon's case for himself, made hesitantly for fear of revealing what he feels are high-level secrets too terrible for the general public to bear, is that he has "secret honor." It is a bizarre concept, appropriate to the news-

peak of 1984.

He resigned, he claims, rather than accede to a power grab by the people who bought him in 1945 and had controlled him thereafter—the Committee of 100, California capitalists who saw in him the perfectly malleable man of the people to front for their interests.

Is the political plot that leaks out of Nixon's paranoid ravings possible? The authors of the script certainly have experience in digging out modern political conspiracies, and turning them into provocative art.

Freed is a historian, novelist and playwright, whose play *Inquest* concerned the Rosenberg-Sobell case, whose novel *Executive Action* (later a movie) was about the Kennedy assassination, and whose *Spymaster*, about the murder of Orlando Letelier, is being adapted for film. Arnold M. Stone was once an intelligence analyst for the National Security Agency (an agency that makes the CIA look positively above-board), and then he worked for the Justice Department, investigating organized crime.

For *Secret Honor*, the two men pored over congressional impeachment investigations. The play is laced with bits of conspiracy and intrigue from Nixon's political record.

But that isn't what horrifies you. The more powerful evidence is the social and psychological background that made it possible for Nixon to be the perfect political tool. That is a perception worth far more than a movie ticket, and one that fiction can exploit in a way the best journalism never could.

As he recalls his childhood, talks to his dead mother, and generally exposes his soft psychological underbelly, Nixon shows himself a familiar type: child of Depression-era lower middle class parents, whose mother dominated a home where patriarchy was revered, where the crush of circumstances was internalized as guilt and sin.

Nixon lives out the contradictions of Horatio Alger. He believes simultaneously in power and in equality, in opportunism and honesty, in independence and authority. In his comfortably-padded cell, Nixon exhibits the two sides of his personality. His devotion to his mother is complemented by his hatred of women and need for locker room and boys' club-style male bonding.

His pathetic worship of Bohemian Grove power elitists segues into vicious resentment of the "Eastern establishment" and such authority figures as Ike and Kissinger.

Nixon is driven by a constant craving for power, because in power is the promise of self-definition. He is not just a man who does not know himself. He is a man who cannot rest long enough to do so in his vacillation between fear and desire, who depends helplessly on the recognition and reward of authority figures he resents.

There's no there there with Nixon, only the never-assuaged need for outside proof that he exists. No wonder he is so addicted to recording devices. When he peers into a TV monitor he really is looking for himself, and he is never quite sure he's finding it. There is even a certain poignancy in the failure of even the recording machines to work for him.

There is pity and horror in this Nixon. Pity for a man who can at least still ask questions about right and wrong, and who cannot exercise the conscienceless elitism of the men he calls his masters. And horror because if playing, as he puts it, "out of my league," as a perennially insecure little guy, destroys him, it also destroys the integrity of a democratic system.

Politics becomes a charade in which the powerful use the fears of the many to benefit the few.

Nixon, this film would have us believe, is not a madman but everyman. There are more Nixons out there, lusting for power as for survival and making unholy marriages with people all too happy to give it to them for a price. When Nixon rages that he did nothing exceptional—"we're all crooks"—it makes sense. What was wrong with Watergate is that it had become business as usual.

This may be Robert Altman's most successful of his recent works of filmed theater (*Come Back to the Five and Dime, Jimmy Dean, Jimmy Dean; Streamers*). Part of the reason is surely that the core of the work came pre-packaged, actor included, from the stage production. Altman has an instinct for the dramatic ironies in social contradictions, but his best work depends on collaboration, especially with tightly controlled scriptwriters (think of Joan Tewkesbury's ingenious structure for *Nashville*).

Here, both his piercing perception and his generous creative spirit—he takes outrageous gambles on new talent and original approaches, and he can superbly showcase good acting—pay off.

He not only lets the writers and

actor do what they had already done well, but he produced the film with University of Michigan film students. You would never know the film was an educational exercise; it's as cleanly professional as you wish most Hollywood movies were. Where the students' work is most in evidence, in fact, is in the film's low production budget.

Perhaps it was the challenge of producing so intense a character study on such limited resources, or perhaps Altman is just getting more expert at using film to exploit the special qualities of theater, but *Secret Honor* is more than a play on film. With its self-referential images on the TV monitor, its eyebrow raising closeups on such props as the ever-present glass of whiskey and the gun, its restless roving paced to Nixon's ravings, the film takes the spectator past the proscenium arch and into the room where Nixon was heralding one alarm while signalling another.

It's been a long way from Watergate in the last 10 years, mostly in the wrong direction. Never has there been a better time for a work of art like *Secret Honor*. ■
For more information contact: Sandcastle 5 Productions, 128 CPS, Suite 4B, New York, NY 10019. ©Pat Aufderheide

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

November 11

Opening of The Peace Museum's newest exhibition *The Ribbon—A Celebration of Life*, segments of a ten-mile-long "ribbon of peace" created by thousands of people. 1:00-5:00 p.m. at The Peace Museum's new gallery, 430 W. Erie, (312) 440-1860. *The Ribbon* through January 31, 1985. Museum and Gift Shop: Tuesday-Sunday, 12:00-5:00 p.m., Thursday, 12:00-8:00 p.m.

November 13

Public TV screening and discussion: "The Arab and the Israeli." This PBS film features public dialog of Israeli Knesset member Mordechai Bar-On and Palestinian Mayor Mohammed Milhem on peace in the Middle East. Facets Multimedia, 1517 W. Fullerton. Reception 6:30 p.m. Film 7:00 p.m. Panel discussion following. \$2 donation. Presented by American Friends Service Committee. (312) 427-2533.

November 16

Aaron Freeman performs as Third Unitarian Church celebrates its 116th anniversary! Wine and cheese, etc., for \$5. 8 p.m. Third Unitarian Church, 301 N. Mayfield (5900 W.) (312) 626-9385. TUC has more subscribers to ITT than any other church in the U.S!

November 17

"...Mightier Than the Sword: A Tribute to Ruth Adams and Dennis Brutus." Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. A benefit for the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Reception and cash bar 6:00, dinner 7:00. Donation \$35. Call (312) 939-0675 for more information.

EAST CHICAGO, IN

November 14

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama on the plight of the American worker. A fast, punchy, musical-comedy—with a message! November 14th, 8:00 p.m., Washington High School, East Chicago. Sponsored by the United Citizens' Organization. Call: (219) 398-6393.

KNOXVILLE, TN

November 14

"Signs of the Times Tour" starring John McCutcheon & Sy Kahn, with sign artist Susan Freundlich. Ticket discounts for hearing impaired/disabled. (615) 522-5851.

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert. For copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Cynthia Diaz.

NEW YORK

November 9

Jericho, a musical legend based on the 1979 murders of five civil rights/labor leaders in Greensboro, N.C., premieres, Friday, November 9, 8:00 p.m., Symphony Space, Broadway & 95th. Tickets \$50, \$25 & \$15, to benefit Greensboro Civil Rights Fund. Call (212) 864-5400 or CHARGIT 1-800-223-0120. For more information (212) 865-0511.

November 16

N.Y. DSA Annual Fundraiser, Friday, November 16, 7:00 p.m. in tribute to Cleveland Robinson of District 65 UAW and The Human Serve Fund. Special guests: William Lucy of AFS-CME, Francis Fox Piven, Hon. Basil Paterson. Entertainment Tom Chapin. Buffet supper. \$40/person. At John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St., Call (212) 260-3270.

LANSING, MI

November 9 & 10

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama on the plight of the American worker. A fast, punchy, musical comedy—with a message! November 9th & 10th, 8:00 p.m., Hanna Middle School, East-Lansing. (517) 372-4636. Mime Troupe theatre workshops available for Jr. High students & adults. (517) 371-1369 for information.

SEATTLE, WA

November 10-11

Breaking the Barriers of Job Discrimination: Join union and working women at University of Washington. Conference to discuss winning strategies on combating unequal treatment and protecting workplace rights. Keynotes: Clara Fraser, Merle Woo, both victors of landmark discrimination suits. Panels and workshops from comparable worth to unionizing. Contact Radical Women, 3815-5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105, (206) 632-1815 or (206) 632-7449.

JOHNSON CITY, TN

November 15

"Signs of the Times Tour" starring John McCutcheon & Sy Kahn, with sign artist Susan Freundlich. Ticket discounts for hearing impaired/disabled. (615) 929-9822.

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Dance

Continued from page 16

Theatre of Harlem embarked on its most ambitious project yet, the full-length *Giselle* that premiered this summer in London.

Created in 1841, *Giselle* marks the zenith of ballet romanticism. The story of a Rhineland peasant lass who kills herself for love of a highborn Lothario, then saves him from a legion of avenging female spirits, it plaits romance and class relations, earthly love and spiritual transcendence.

In mounting the ballet, Mitchell and stage designer Carl Michel have jettisoned its Teutonic setting. Their *Giselle* is a free black farmgirl of the Louisiana bayous, an inhabitant of that all-black Acadia sketched by Gary B. Mills in *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color*. Placards hung in City Center's corridors displayed genealogies and capsule biographies invented by Mitchell for the ballet's major and minor characters.

Just as *Hamlet* in modern dress remains *Hamlet*, so this Creole *Giselle* remains the offspring of French romanticism. The details of flora, costume and architecture have changed, but the curtain still opens on the first act to reveal a cottage on either side of the stage, and *Giselle*'s tomb (large enough in this production for a countess) still figures on the left in Act II.

Throughout, moreover, the choreography, taught to the dancers by Frederic Franklin, adheres to the letter of the text handed down from France via Russia and the interwar British and emigre companies.

In interviews, Mitchell has justified his changes on the grounds of making *Giselle* relevant to blacks and acceptable to whites, as if Spanish moss and antebellum riding habits were more than cosmetic alterations to a familiar text. They hardly compensate for what is lacking in this production—an appreciation of rom-

antic style, those nuances of phrasing, manner and body placement that texture the classroom vocabulary of ballet and conjure poetic images from the choreographer's steps.

As Giselle, Virginia Johnson, the company's fragile-looking senior ballerina, seemed intimidated by a role that technically lies within her power. Her miming, like that of the company generally, exuded charm and conviction, but rarely did one glimpse in her dancing the manner of a romantic stylist or the subtle phrasing that brings drama to individual blocks of movement. Compared to her full-blooded performances in other roles, in *Giselle* Johnson never let herself go.

Act II stands or falls according to the strength of the *corps de ballet*. The 16 women of DTH's ensemble have been very well drilled and, for the most part, they turn and promenade on cue.

But unlike a platoon whipped into shape by its sergeant, a ballet corps should convey emotional and stylistic oneness, as if synchronization were the expression of a single harmonic body. This the DTH corps failed to do.

But even if the dancing was not what it should have been, this *Giselle* made history. Although Anna Benna Sims, a black American with the Frankfurt Ballet, has danced the title role in Europe, this City Center season marked the first time a black woman has appeared as Giselle on a New York stage. Rather than talking about "realistic" Spanish moss and 1840s style cutaways, Mitchell would have done better to stress the production's larger historical import.

Where DTH's dancers shone throughout the season was in the modern repertory. To Balanchine's *Agon* and *The Four Temperaments*, they brought a swiftness and edgy tension that served these abstract classics well.

Their technical aplomb and physical presence were ill-used, however, in Geoffrey Holder's *Bande* and *Douglas*, vulgar invocations of Afro-Caribbean "roots" that betray their sources, dancers and audiences. To these works, TV's "uncola" salesman has contributed costumes, choreography and music—all of

dubious authenticity and taste.

In *Douglas*, his men wiggle their bottoms in skin-colored briefs and red pom-poms, while his women, swathed in yards of fabric, look like perambulating tents. The combination of beefcake and fanny wiggling delighted at least some in the audience. But it merely reinforces the prejudice that hoofing, shaking and rocking, not ballet, are what come naturally to black dancers.

Among the female principals who stood out this season were Virginia Johnson, elegant and foxy in Billy Wilson's *Mirage*; Lorraine Graves, a majestic Myrta in *Giselle*; and Judy Tyrus, the sole dancer at ease with 19th-century virtuoso style. In the title role of *Firebird*, Stephanie Dabny mesmerized audiences with her powerful, exotic presence.

Unlike most ballet companies, DTH's outstanding male ensemble combines grace with virility. Mitchell's men leap

Africa

Continued from page 8

terial posts. For its part, Machel's government had to accept the equal billing given to the MNR at the signing ceremonies and the fact that at least one MNR member would serve on the commission to monitor the cease-fire and to guarantee amnesty to the insurgents. South Africa also benefitted by being able to claim to the international community that it was serving as peace-maker.

Many problems remain. The actual role of the cease-fire commission is ill-defined. Moreover, unless Pretoria pressures the MNR, there is little reason to believe it will accept the agreement. Mozambican officials fear the MNR will intensify its military operations to improve its influence on the Commission, and that Pretoria will stall to give the MNR this opportunity. This fear seems well-founded. One day after the agreement, Evo Fernandes, the Portuguese Secretary General of the MNR, pro-

claimed, "The war continues." But even if South Africa and the MNR act in good faith, they may not be able to get some 50 to 70 percent of the guerrillas now scattered throughout Mozambique in small bands to put down their arms.

There is also the problem of FRELIMO's long-term relations with the African National Congress (ANC), a historically in anti-imperialist struggles. As part of the Nkomati agreement, Mozambique could no longer allow the liberation movement to use its territory as a base from which to launch attacks against South Africa. The ANC presence was drastically reduced. It is only permitted to maintain a political presence in the country. For FRELIMO it was a painful concession. For the ANC, it was a major setback that generated much criticism of Mozambique. But according to the ANC representative in Maputo, Jacob Nzuuma, quiet negotiations have improved relations considerably. After all, he concluded, "we share a common long-term objective and a common enemy."

Allen Isaacman is a professor of African history at the University of Minnesota and previously taught at the University Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique.

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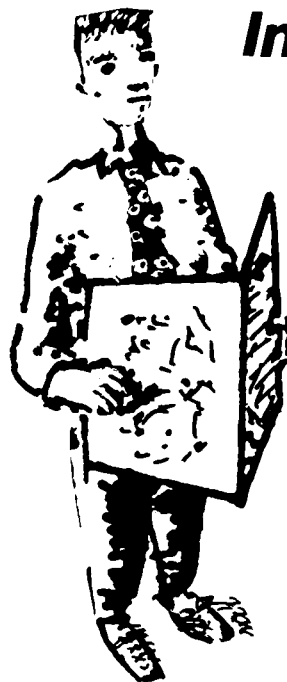
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No Longer

Dancing in the Dark

By Lynn Garafola

Although
the Dance
Theatre of
Harlem
gets kudos,

the color
bar remains
for black
ballerinas.

Lorraine Graves as Myrta in the DTH's GISELLE.

THE DANCE THEATRE OF HARLEM'S (DTH) three-week season at New York City Center opened the fall ballet calendar with fanfare. Preceded by glowing notices of its summer London season and a barrage of publicity about its new Creole GISELLE, DTH drew socialites and celebrity balletomanes to its first night gala.

But the kudos for this overwhelmingly black troupe notwithstanding, some unfinished business remains. In the 15 years since Arthur Mitchell founded DTH to prove that blacks could indeed master the art of ballet, the color bar has yet to fall for the vast majority of black ballet dancers.

Unlike modern dance, where black women since the '30s have made distinguished careers as dancers and choreographers, ballet has virtually banned black women from the stage. For men, the road has been easier. Since the late '40s, black men, including Arthur Mitchell himself, for many years a principal dancer with George Balanchine's New York City Ballet, have appeared in major roles with major companies.

During the same period, only Janet Collins, a member of the Metropolitan Opera Ballet, and Raven Wilkison, a light-skinned soloist with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, penetrated the color bar. Plum ballerina roles, however, eluded them.

"We can't have a black swan doing a black swan," Wilkison was told when she wanted to dance SWAN LAKE. Like many black dancers, she eventually made a career for herself in Europe.

In the U.S., racism narrowed the range of acceptable looks in the so-called "ballet blanc." This term, literally "white ballet," refers to the second act dreamscapes of ballets like GISELLE, SWAN LAKE and SLEEPING BEAUTY, where the abstract poetry of classicism was embodied in images of virginal femininity. In the U.S., the metaphor of whiteness was taken liter-

ally: the romantic ideal incarnated by femininity required a white skin.

But along with aesthetics, something else contrived to keep black women out of ballet. Knowing how few opportunities awaited the aspiring black ballerina, well-meaning teachers guided talented students into modern dance, jazz and show dancing where professional openings did exist. This meant that few black women received the full training necessary to master the arduous techniques of ballet.

Arthur Mitchell founded the Dance Theatre of Harlem and community-oriented School of Allied Arts in 1969 "as his personal commitment to the people of Harlem" after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Until 1980, the Ford Foundation underwrote a substantial share of the cost.

Since then, corporate support, encouraged by an \$800,000 challenge grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, has stepped into the breach, with Atlantic Richfield, AT&T, Reader's Digest and Chase Manhattan Bank donating sizeable sums to both the company and its revamped professional feeder school. Carrying on her family's historic commitment to black education, Judith Peabody now chairs the DTH board of directors.

DTH's artistic profile is as varied as the countenance of its supporters. From Mitchell's alma mater, the New York City Ballet, have come the neoclassical works that remain the company's pride.

Works by black choreographers on Afro-American themes, revivals of 20th-century dramatic classics and modern ballets by international choreographic stars have diversified the repertory. They have also brought a variety of audiences to the theater, including large numbers of blacks.

In its bid for international standing, DTH has also ventured into the 19th century, testing its mettle in selections from PAQUITA, SWAN LAKE, SYLVIA and LE CORSAIR. This year, the Dance

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